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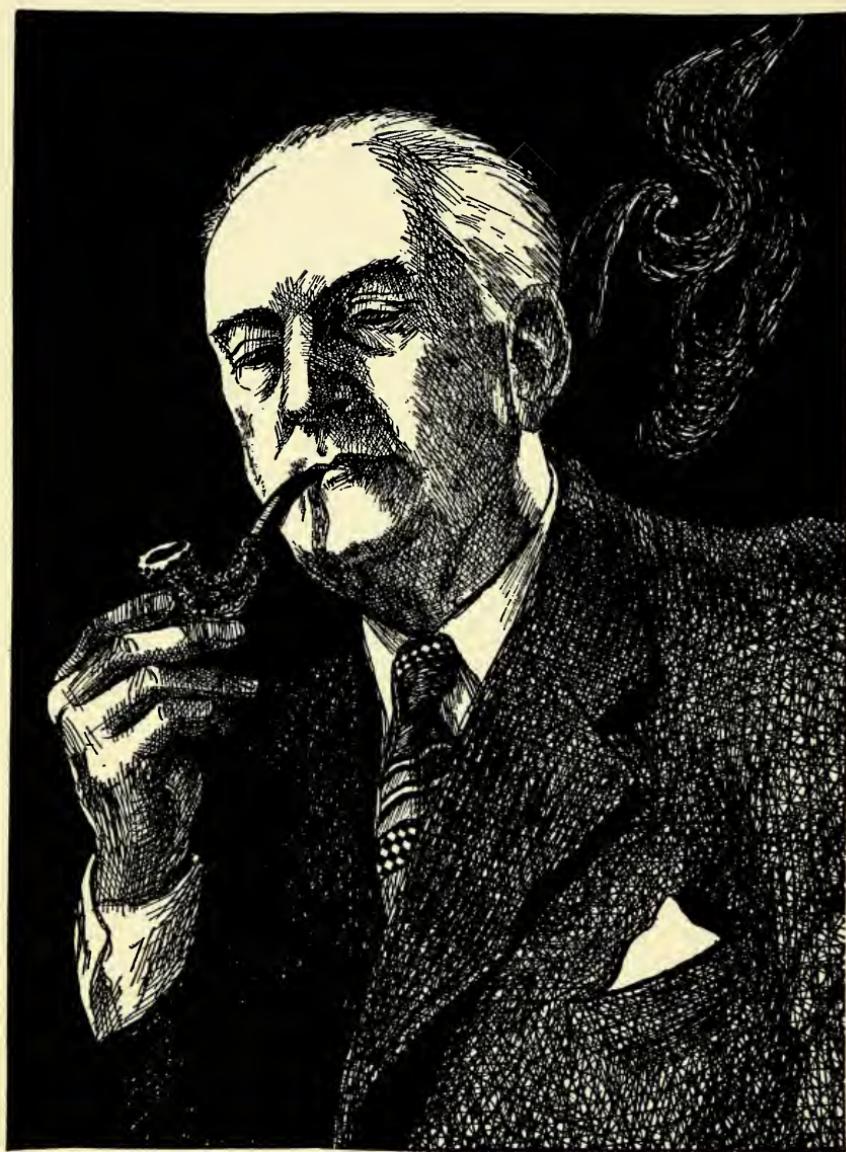
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ESSAYS
IN HONOR OF
WALTER CLYDE CURRY



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ESSAYS
IN HONOR OF
WALTER CLYDE CURRY

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NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY PRESS
1954

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Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities
Volume Two

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE PARTHENON PRESS, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Preface

WALTER CLYDE CURRY retires as head of the Vanderbilt English department in June, 1955. This position he held for twelve years, but he has been a vigorous member of the teaching staff since receiving his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1915. Forty years continuous brilliant service with a single institution is an event increasingly rare in our time. In Dr. Curry's case this service was rendered despite strong temptations by other universities to lure him away. The present volume is a compilation of tributes, in the form of critical essays, from a number of the many younger scholars who have been privileged to study under his guidance and inspiration. It is supplemented by a statement from Professor Hardin Craig—one of Dr. Curry's contemporaries—who contributes the stimulating Foreword.

Born in Gray Court, South Carolina, January 6, 1887, Dr. Curry attended the county grammar and high schools there before proceeding to Wofford College, from which he received the AB in 1909. Before beginning his graduate work at Stanford, however, he had faced the then rather customary discipline of the young educator: for three years (1909-12) he taught all seven grades and acted as principal and superintendent at Johnson, South Carolina. In 1927 he married the poet and novelist, Kathryn Worth.

Since Dr. Curry's special fields of research and teaching have been mainly in the Early English, Middle English, and Renaissance periods, the editors felt compelled to limit their invitations for articles to those of his students who have continued to explore these special areas. We did not wish to publish a heterogeneous volume. Yet this would surely have been the case, if the many men and women who have subsequently worked in more recent periods—as in modern poetry for instance—had regarded it as proper to submit essays. Nevertheless, as it turned out, we did have to consider twice as many pieces as space limitations would allow us to print. In self defense, therefore, we felt called upon to ask for out-

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side and expert assistance in selecting the present studies. We hope they will be regarded as a tribute to a very fine gentleman who has made a major contribution to the study and appreciation of English literature.

Editorial Committee

The Department of English
Vanderbilt University

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Foreword

Walter Clyde Curry and Contemporary Scholarship

HARDIN CRAIG

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

DR. CURRY is having a distinguished career as a scholar, but before we give consideration to what he has done we might decide what we now mean by scholarship, which is a more comprehensive thing than perhaps we realize. Scholarship has a long and well defined history, which need not be too far separated from science, to which it is nearly related. At least we may say that in a sense scientists need to be scholars and scholars need to be scientists. In current usage science tends to be applied to the pursuit of those disciplines that lie on the outer rim of objectivity, and scholarship to the vast field of human history that includes all the activities of men past and present. The objects of scientific research, theoretically at least, may be bound, as Bacon would have bound Proteus, and compelled to repeat their deeds under the eye of observation; whereas in the comprehension of the deeds and products of man, and as one approaches the metaphysical, ethical and psychological center in which we have our being, this capture and enslavement of phenomena cannot be done, or can be done only to a limited degree. The scholar, if we may on this occasion use the word to designate searchers for truth in other than objective phenomena, tends to leave the field of perception and enter, without leaving observation behind, the field of memory and its records. Logic is equally active in both disciplines, and there seem to be no great differences between science and scholarship in motivation. Both are products of an instinct, developing into a desire, to know and understand. Both, in their pure and potent forms, seem unrelated to practical utility, both are conditioned by a logic that demands truth, both make use of method,

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and both in the modern world are making increasing demands for knowledge, a knowledge that refuses to stop at traditional or departmental barriers but ranges freely over all areas related in conceivable ways to matters in hand.

Let it be said immediately that in this discussion we are not concerned with the obligations and policies of American institutions of higher or lower learning. Scholarship, which is historically the function of universities, is a separate and separable thing. We make no claims for it, although claims can be made. It is not the practice and appreciation of art, although it is interested in the history and relations of art. (There is nothing in theory or practice to prevent a man from being both a scholar and a creative artist.) It is not concerned with the acquisition of any skills except its own, and that only as a means to an end. Scholarship is self-propelled and free. One may even say that scholarship is nobody's duty; but, so great is its importance to civilization that even the most objective scholar can hardly be excused from the task of developing, if he can, in such of the young as possess the necessary talents, scholarly curiosity, scholarly habits and scholarly conscience, and thus seeking to provide for his own succession. We pass over the futility of attempting to make scholars by grants from foundations and the absurdity of mistaking by educational administrators of other possibly more useful citizens for scholars.

Scholarship as well as science is dependent on the determination of facts, and facts are troublesome in life and unpopular in schools. We have nevertheless to state clearly that scholarship has to do, not only with established fact, but with the process of the formulation of events into facts. Bacon saw the utter dominance of facts in human life and coolly recommended that fruitful thinkers should attend only to facts. He saw in them a potentially deadly enemy of falsehood, ineptitude and delusion—saw perhaps that the discovery of unknown facts would ultimately demolish the idols of his age, and of course in large measure he was right. Fact is the formulation of event, and with Bacon there appeared that

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more important thing, a new mind gradually conditioned to fact and not to authority or tradition.¹ The establishment of fact is the satisfaction of speculation and the end-point of hypotheses. The scientific age begun by Bacon resulted, as everybody knows, in the triumph of the efficient cause over the final cause, a triumph possibly too complete, and it may be that our age is attempting to harmonize these ancient enemies, for all ages fail if they do not know that natural causation is unitary. Science requires, says Whitehead, "an active interest in the simple occurrences of life for their own sake," and he speaks of the intolerant use of abstractions as "the major vice" of the scientific intellect.² This may explain the confusion of the current scholastic mind in its desire to escape from facts into abstractions. It is not necessary to take sides on this issue, but it is necessary to point out differences. Search for and discovery of facts narrow the range of abstraction and of relativity itself. Collection, formulation, and comparison of opinions may be philosophy, but it is not science even when it reasserts faith in the order of nature.

It is also certainly not traditional scholarship. We know that certain ages for the last two thousand five hundred years have devoted themselves to a greater or less degree to scholarship, and we know the sort of thing they have done in the field of literature —the Athenian age with its study of epic, lyric and dramatic poetry, its organization of grammar and lexicography, and its exploitation of rhetoric and logic; the bibliographical age of Alexandria with its development of the library as a scholarly instrument; the Roman age with its epitomes and its Neo-Platonism; the renascences at Aix and St. Gall; Petrarch and humanism continuing until the time of Erasmus and on into the sixteenth-century revivals of learning in Italy, France, Spain, the Low Countries and England; the encyclopaedic scholarship of the seventeenth century; and, finally, the incredibly varied and dis-

1. Susanne Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York, 1948), pp. 217-226, *et passim*.

2. A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York, 1926), p. 4, *et passim*.

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seminated scholarship of the nineteenth century. In that, or at the end of that, there was undoubtedly much American participation.

Many scholars in English, itself a relatively new *Fach*, were at first German-trained and were therefore mostly strict philologists, and yet, as we can bear personal witness, many scholars of the time chafed at the narrowness of their bounds. They were fond of saying that the German word *Philologie* meant, not only linguistics, but *Kulturgeschichte* and the ethical and aesthetic import of literature as a manifestation of the human spirit. Indeed, scholarship never forgot its duty of interpretation. A. S. Napier and Mark H. Liddell, both pupils of the great Julius Zupitza, told me that the notes set down in Zupitza's strictly philological lectures were storehouses of wisdom and artistic insight. The true field of philology, these scholars said, was as broad as the cultures studied. Apparently they adhered to Whitney, Giles, Brugmann, and Streitberg, but the great ones always knew that philology is about life.

The approach to literary study was not strictly philological either by that age or its predecessors. The morphology and aesthetics of literature actually bulked larger than philology itself. Bibliography and the search for sources were extensively pursued, and perhaps the greatest interest of all was in the intellectual and cultural backgrounds of past ages. The basis of what has been called the historical criticism of literature was already broadly laid down. Modern philology was an immediate outgrowth of classical philology and followed its lines. That is a good deal to say, for behind the earlier students of English and other modern languages and literatures was a group of classical scholars equally varied in their interests. There were the proponents of the encyclopoedic type of classical learning (*Alterthumswissenschaft*); there were Hermann, the grammarian, over against Boeckh, the antiquarian; Curtius and Mommsen, historians; Preller, the mythologist; Schleicher and Bopp, comparative philologists, to be followed by the New Grammarians; archeological studies flourished, especially in France; England could point with pride to Hallam, Grote,

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Jowett, and Jebb; and the United States to Child and Whitney.

Our concern is with the American scene, and it might not be too meticulous to regard for the nonce the teachers who taught Dr. Curry's generation as a special group. Their names and personalities are still familiar to us, and one would not be invidious, but certain names do stand out: Kittredge of Harvard, Cook of Yale, Bright of Johns Hopkins, Fletcher and Trent of Columbia, Schelling of Pennsylvania, Gayley of California, Flügel of Stanford, Manly of Chicago, and others were the leaders of scholarly groups and directed the studies of many scholars of the next generation. They were men of varied interests and points of view and may be grouped together only because they were contemporaries and because they were scholars.

Their pupils, many of whom are still living, a generation mainly American-trained, have also varied widely in interests as well as age. The easy and obvious discoveries and interpretations had most of them been made before this generation appeared, so that, in order to proceed to greater perfection, secure tangible and valuable results, and open new fields of interest, the scholars of this generation were called upon to dig deeper and to know more. They had a choice between the pursuit of narrower and less significant tasks and of larger, newer and more comprehensive ones. The challenge to know more and think more widely was met by some men and is still being met, but the labor was arduous and the rewards not obvious, so that others sought scholarly distinction in easier ways. Some of them accordingly entered more modern fields to the great benefit of these fields, and others of them tackled the vagaries of the *Zeitgeist*. One must also allow for the compulsions of American faith in teaching rather than in learning with the consequently heavy classroom schedules, and for the decay of knowledge of foreign languages, a decay for which English scholars are not in any way responsible. A still later phase is apparently an escape from scholarship into a philosophical field concerned with the genesis and analysis of opinion. Nevertheless the achievements in pure scholarship of this generation have been

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very considerable. Many of these scholars are still living, but, if, in order to illustrate this, we may point reverently to the works of those no longer living, we see an impressive spectacle. F. M. Padelford (1875-1942) did important work on Surrey, Spenser, and other Renaissance writers, was one of the editors of the *New Variorum Spenser*, and was invaluable in his promotion of scholarship. John Edwin Wells (1875-1943) did a great deal of valuable work in mediaeval literature and provided the world with an inclusive scholarly instrument in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (1916 *et seq.*). Thomas A. Knott, a philologist of distinction, was general editor of *Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition* (1934). Edwin Greenlaw (1874-1931) was the head of a great group of Spenser scholars and editor-in-chief of *The Works of Edmund Spenser. A Variorum Edition*. John Livingston Lowes (1867-1945) did distinguished work in Chaucer and in other fields. He published *The Road to Xanadu* in 1927. Charles Read Baskerville (1872-1935) possessed one of the truly original scholarly minds of the age. *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy* came out in 1911 and *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* in 1929. The periods before, after and between were well filled. Karl Young (1879-1943) did excellent work in Chaucer, Shakespeare and other fields and in *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933) produced a work outstanding in the century in scope, accuracy, method, and in intelligibility. Carleton Brown (1869-1941) was a scholar of extensive performance, as seen in his *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse* (1916, 1920), and was moreover a man born to the service of scholarship. We remember that he was secretary of the Modern Language Association during a crucial period from 1920 until 1934. Killis Campbell (1872-1937) was one of the founders of modern scholarship in the field of American literature. *The Mind and Art of Poe with Other Studies* came out in 1934. J. S. P. Tatlock (1876-1948) was an active scholar and a vigorous thinker. His work on the Chaucer canon dates from 1907, and he with A. G. Kennedy completed and published the

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Chaucer concordance (1927). A. C. L. Brown (1869-1946) spent his scholarly energies on the mediaeval romances—the origin of the Arthurian romances (1903) and of the Grail Legend (1943). Robert K. Root (1877-1950) was a scholar of varied interests, but devoted most of his energies to Chaucer. His *Poetry of Chaucer* (1906, revised in 1922) was one of the truly useful books of the generation. His authoritative work on Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* belongs to 1926. This gratifying but to me rather painful list could be greatly extended. I personally recall excellent scholars like Sam Moore, Thornton Shirley Graves, James F. Royster, Vernon Parrington, H. B. Lathrop, Edith Rickert, Harry Morgan Ayres, Morris Croll, E. N. S. Thompson, John Berdan, and Tom Peete Cross. Tucker Brooke must not be forgotten, since he was, so to speak, an exemplary scholar and always deeply engaged in the scholarly activities of the age.

There is enough, however, in this list to make it clear that the scholars of this generation were not narrow specialists, that when they devoted themselves to a single field it was apt to be a big one, and that, as a whole, they were both comprehensive and painstaking. It is also clear that within the liberal boundaries of traditional scholarship they found ample room for the exercise of their powers. I have suggested that upon this generation of scholars, of whom Walter Clyde Curry is one of the youngest, there rested the demand for comprehensive learning and carefully directed interpretation. I am not even sure that Dr. Curry would be pleased to be placed where I have placed him, but I am sure he possesses an excellent scholarly mind and that his work illustrates admirably that of the generation to which, as a scholar, he seems to belong.

Dr. Curry took his doctor's degree at Stanford in 1915, mainly under the direction of Professor Ewald Flügel. His dissertation was entitled *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty; as Found in the Metrical Romances, Chronicles, and Legends of the XIII, XIV, and XV Centuries.*³ In it appear indications of the direction

3. Baltimore, 1916.

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his later studies were to take. I remember well the appearance in the early twenties of Curry's papers that threw new light on Chaucer from the ancient pseudo-science of physiognomy,⁴ from mediaeval medicine,⁵ horoscopy,⁶ and dream-lore.⁷ I cannot find that Curry's work on *The Man of Law's Tale* was published before its inclusion in *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* in 1926, and I miss from that volume the brilliant and ingenious study, "O Mars, O Atazir."⁸ At least one other paper, a paper that reveals a deepening of critical insight, "Destiny in Chaucer's *Troilus*,"⁹ was too late for inclusion in the collected volume. I happen not to have read at the time an initiatory paper of much interest entitled "Astrologizing the Gods."¹⁰

The collection and publication of these papers, with some omissions and revisions, in 1926 made them known to a wider scholastic audience. The approach was new and the work convincingly done. My circle of nearer acquaintances approved of Dr. Curry's work, and I personally enjoyed it very much and regarded it as significant. A few critics thought the work unrelated to "literature." Perhaps the author himself had some misgivings in spite of an intellectual certainty that he had made important contributions to the understanding, even the artistic appreciation, of Chaucer. At any rate, he provided his volume with an introduction a little too explanatory, but interesting in itself, especially interesting in retrospect because it reveals the state of the critical mind at the time the book was published. Curry is at pains to explain in this introduction that his studies do not limit the freedom of that vague person called "the creative artist." From the point of view then current this person was conceived of as a manipulator and selecter engaged, like a pharmacist filling a prescription, in putting into his work so much of this and so much of

4. "Chaucer's Reeve and Miller," *PMLA*, XXXV (1920), 189-209.

5. "The Malady of Chaucer's Summoner," *MP*, XIX (1922), 395-404; "Chaucer's Doctor of Phisyk," *PQ*, IV (1925), 1-24.

6. "More about Chaucer's Wife of Bath," *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922), 30-51.

7. "Chauntecleer and Pertelote on Dreams," *ES*, LVIII (1924), 24-60.

8. *JEGP*, XXII (1923), 347-368.

9. *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 129-168.

10. *Anglia*, XLVII (1923), 213-243.

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that according to a preconceived pattern derived from Plato, God, or God knows where. It is not made clear in this introduction that Chaucer had nothing else to use except the contents of his mind and that his pattern was derived from the tradition of fact; in other words, that these things were parts of Chaucer's inheritance and of his way of thinking as well as that of his age. It is, however, obvious that Curry himself understood the nature and bearings of his work. For example, he says, after stating that Chaucer had bodied forth the Reeve and the Miller "with the aid of physiognomical principles,"¹¹

It could not be maintained that the poet has created these personages mechanically according to certain rules and regulations known to his audience, but in presenting an exact correspondence between personal appearances and characters he has, while apparently detracting nothing from the lifelike qualities of the personalities introduced, succeeded in rendering them more vivid, natural, and significant to anyone with the mediaeval point of view.

But in the next volume, *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns*, published eleven years later,¹² there is a notable advance, possibly for Curry and certainly for his contemporaries, in understanding and giving expression to the meaning and significance of the work Curry had been and was still doing.

Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns is a great book, which not only shows the completeness of knowledge and the clarity of thought characteristic of the earlier work on Chaucer, but enters a more complicated area and goes further and deeper. Structurally it deals with two great areas of Renaissance thought that may be briefly designated as Scholasticism and Neo-Platonism. No approach to Elizabethan literature could be more fundamental, and it is difficult to see how in such limited space so clear and so complete a digest could have been prepared. The first and larger part of the book centers in "The Demonic Metaphysics of *Macbeth*,"¹³ which play is shown to be in the Christian tradition

11. *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences*, p. 71.

12. Baton Rouge, 1937.

13. First published in *SP*, XXX (1933), 395-426.

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of mediaeval philosophy; the second part in "Sacerdotal Science in Shakespeare's *Tempest*,"¹⁴ which in turn is shown to rest squarely on the theurgical science of Renaissance Neo-Platonism. The book has no less than three chapters of an introductory or explanatory nature—an introduction proper, a chapter on the Scholasticism, and one on the Neo-Platonism of the sixteenth century, and the advance in the comprehension of the relation of literature to its learned backgrounds revealed in these chapters is obvious.

It is here revealed that neither Chaucer nor Shakespeare had an individual short-wave radio connection with the future, but that each was "immersed in the physical, mental, and spiritual life of his age." The seventeenth century and its successors, he says incontrovertably, could have exerted no possible influence upon sixteenth-century accomplishment. Curry gives the *coup de grace* to that venerable error to the effect that the Renaissance emancipated itself completely, or indeed to any great degree, from the philosophic systems of the Middle Ages—scholastic philosophy was not "outworn" in the Renaissance. Curry illustrates the persistent vitality of the scholastic tradition elaborately from Richard Hooker and makes it clear that the scholastic tradition was the groundwork of cognition in the Elizabethan age. The statement is clear, and there are only a few rather nostalgic attempts to save the transcendental artistic concept. Again, it would be hard to find in brief compass a more successful attempt to bring order out of chaos than is the fifth chapter, "The Age: Platonism." The idealistic philosophy of the age was an intricate mixture of many elements whose syncretism was almost an individual matter. Curry thinks that from the *mélange* of philosophic elements grew a great freedom, and in this he is both right and original. A Renaissance thinker offered elements from "Neo-Platonic emanations arranged according to Neo-Pythagorean number symbolism, Jewish legend mingled with Dionysian and other traditions, mysterious and potent names of God arrived at by intricate permutation of letters,

14. First published in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, CLXVIII (1935), 25-36, 185-196.

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Alexandrian mysticism, animism, pantheism, a splendid fusion of Hellenism, Hebraism, and Christianity—concepts mystic, strange, and wonderful,”¹⁵—such a thinker might “hastily take a few herbs and apples” and go on his way. But some of them chose skilfully and abundantly. Renaissance thinkers were no doubt “uncritical eclectics,” but, as Curry says, they did love nature and saved themselves by adherence to her. Curry does not fail to observe the orderly and sincere scientific outlook of many Renaissance men, and it is clear that they often treated their “superstition” as we treat our science. I think the dualism of the Renaissance between matter and spirit was less sharply marked than Curry makes it and believe that the dualistic collar was not securely fastened on the world’s neck until after Descartes.

Each of the two main sections of the book has a chapter of Shakespearean interpretation. “Macbeth’s Changing Character” is a revelation of truth about Macbeth, whose soul was ensnared by just the malignant demons given status, function, and individuality in the chapter on “The Demonic Metaphysics of *Macbeth*.” Macbeth himself is a living, vivid, varied personality, and Curry states clearly that any attempt to confine him within the limits of narrow scholarly or critical theory would be to “reduce the infinite contingencies of life and nature to a formula.” He also says that, since Shakespeare’s Macbeth is a product of the Renaissance and of the traditions that stretch back of it and if we are to understand him at all, “we must reproduce historically and as fully as possible the stimuli that urged Shakespeare to create him.” This is a complete and unapologetic statement of the slowly established creed of the historical criticism and scholarship of Curry’s generation. Note that he says that, although Macbeth undergoes “an astounding dislocation of the very center of being,” and although within him “sin plucks on sin” until, as the modern critic thinks, his character and his soul are demolished, Macbeth at the end of the play is still Macbeth. As Curry puts it, “Macbeth’s character, like any other man’s at a given moment, is what is

15. *Shakespeare’s Philosophical Patterns*, p. 149.

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being made out of potentialities and environment." It follows that evil is the absence of good and that potential, and not kinetic virtues, are significant. Macbeth's gifts, powers and graces are the talents the Lord has given him and are not to be entered on the credit side of his account; indeed, he misuses them for the destruction of good. He deserts substance in favor of accident and pursues mutable and not permanent good. His motive becomes personal safety in unconscious desire and causes him to destroy Banquo. A negative trend of character begins and continues, and Macbeth's inverted accomplishment fills one with dismay. Irrationality and passion triumph over reason and Macbeth's rewards are the wages of sin, but note that he is not denied a vision of truth:

And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
That palter with us in a double sense;
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope.

What we get from the interpretative chapter on *The Tempest* is equally revealing. Prospero the enchanter is sharply distinguished from Prospero the man, but even as an enchanter he is still within the bounds of moral conduct and still a servant of the cause of righteousness. He practices white magic, a method of making legitimate use of the benignant powers of nature; black magic appears in the play only in the traces of the malignant Sycorax. Where Shakespeare got his knowledge of the subject is not apparent, but he understood Neo-Platonic magic well. Curry tells us why Prospero, a mere mortal, was able to command aerial spirits; his soul has been elevated on the Platonic ladder to a sufficient height for him to do so. We see also the theurgist's relation to inanimate nature. Curry concludes that Caliban's father was an aquatic demon and says that Caliban's brutish qualities "indicate the desolate fusion of debased human with irrational daemonic nature," a subject I had long been puzzled about. We learn also about another curious thing: how it was possible for Sycorax to imprison Ariel in the cloven pine—no simple matter. Ariel, re-

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ported to be her servant, refused to execute her earthy commands. She could not achieve the feat herself, so called in more potent ministers and by their aid inflicted a punishment that she herself could not undo. We learn how and why Prospero controlled Caliban. Here it may be said that Curry's distinction between Providence and Fate is critically invaluable. We are afforded for the first time a convincing reason why Prospero buried his staff and drowned his book: "theurgical practices represent no more than a means of preparation for the intellectual soul in its upward progress; union with the intelligible gods is the theurgist's ultimate aim. He finds himself at the close of the play immeasurably nearer than before to the impassivity of the gods. His theurgical operations have accomplished their purpose."¹⁶

Curry's treatment of these two plays seems to me to be literary criticism of the highest order. It is clear, interesting, illuminating, and, above all, true. I see no reason therefore for provisos like this: "This ineffable quality must always characterize the true work of art." There are in the book a few other scattered utterances that seem to suggest that the criticism of art is a detached, select and inviolate region. Why should everything else be subject to human thought, human emotion and human reason and criticism be privileged to indulge in error, half-truth, and idiosyncrasy? Is it some survival of a doctrine of special inspiration? Surely scholarship has a function in true criticism. Dr. Curry's publications have no doubt seemed difficult to many readers only because he has opened new fields. Nothing could be more clearly expressed and more carefully explained than they are, and in the long run what difference does it make? There will always be those who cannot have their formal stock of ideas increased or even rearranged on the shelves. The latest of Dr. Curry's work that I have seen is in the form of two profoundly enlightening articles on more or less hidden backgrounds of a third great English poet—"Milton's Chaos and Old Night"¹⁷ and "Milton's Dual Concept of God

16. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

17. *JEGP*, XLVI (1947), 32-58.

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as related to Creation." ¹⁸ It is to be hoped that we may look forward to another book that will be a triumphant vindication of the scholarship of Dr. Curry's generation.

If he entertains, even to a minor degree, the idea that there is a difference among scholarship, criticism and creation and that science is a completely distinct thing from any of them, it would lend some plausibility to a long accepted, but I think erroneous, theory. To me his "patterns" in the appendix to *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* are at least vestiges of the ramparts of a prison wall. Partitions in the field of the activities of the human mind, as, for example, that drama is part of creation by fiat, are to me no longer acceptable. No doubt these roadblocks to the progress of thought have in part been taken away; but, as an older contemporary and a congenial fellow worker, I might presume to suggest that Dr. Curry's scholarship and leadership are still needed. We are possibly about ready to substitute unity in our thinking for dualism, perhaps to invite the world of literature, if not to operate in the whole of human life, at least to regain some part of a lost freedom of the pre-Cartesian world. There is much hope in the doctrine of relativity, and symbolic logic may help us build a new epistemology.

18. *SP*, XLVII (1950), 190-210.

Bibliography of the Published Works of Walter Clyde Curry

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The Essays

I

Phonological Aspects of the Meter of *Beowulf*

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THE RÔLE of pronunciation—a consideration vital to the effective reading of any poem—has scarcely been touched upon in discussions of *Beowulf*. With respect to the diphthong the problem is crucial.

In the scansion of modern poetry the pronunciation of diphthongs and consonantal vowels creates no special problem because the requirements of the meter are known to the reader and he is free to pronounce words like *break* and *heaven* either as one syllable or as two, as the movement of the verse demands. As late as the mid-nineteenth century, when Edwin Guest was writing his *History of English Rhythms*, the vowel combination *ea* was often dissyllabic;¹ and early in the present century William Thomson formulated a principle derived from the practice of English poets since the Renaissance: A vowel preceding another vowel “may be a syllable and it may not. And between those two extremes lies a whole progressive series, near the center of which we may reckon two syllables or one at pleasure, an ambiguity that falls in very conveniently with the needs of the poet.”² Some metrists have thought it necessary to resort to this license in reading Tennyson’s line and have scanned thus:

Bréák, bréák, bréák.

The difficulty of applying this principle to Anglo-Saxon poetry is that one does not know when to apply it, for he has no “iambic” or “trochaic” pentameter or tetrameter to guide him. It is probable, however, that every syllable had a distinct vowel sound (*Ael-*

1. (London, 1838), I, 46.

2. *The Rhythm of Speech* (Glasgow, 1923), p. 86.

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mihtiga, /×××; *tacen, /×*; *wundorbebodum, /××××*) and that some distinctions were made with regard to the vowel combinations *ea, eo, io, ie* which gave the poet greater freedom in their use than is implied in current systems of scansion. To conform to Sievers' arbitrary scheme Klaeber (and other editors) are forced into declaring some vowels silent (*Aelmichtga, tacn, wundrbebodum*, for example) and certain vowel combinations (*frēan, hēan, þēon*, for example) as sometimes monosyllabic, sometimes dissyllabic. The criterion of judgment in the matter is the Sievers "type." But one must dispense with the line of least resistance and try to discover some more reliable basis for treatment of the diphthongs in *Beowulf*. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to establish these criteria on phonological grounds.

In current theories of Anglo-Saxon metrics³ there is normally no metrical distinction between diphthongs, ligatures, and single vowels. All are considered monosyllabic and are assigned one metrical value, either stressed or unstressed. Thus there is no differentiation, as far as the meter is concerned, between *pēod* and *pāh*, between *frēan* and *pāet*. Yet in *pēod* and *frēan* there is more articulation—and articulation implies an appreciable duration and stress. The diphthongs, whether they result from breaking, from the influence of an initial palatal, from umlaut, or from contraction, contain two sounds, while the ligatures and single vowels contain only one. The tendency of modern English diphthongs is toward convergence of the two sounds: *ai, au, iu*, and *oi* give a true "glide effect." But was this the nature of the Anglo-Saxon diphthong? Sweet, writing of sound change in general, asserts that "organic and acoustic laws of change are continually crossed by logical tendencies, as when, for the sake of distinctness, the elements of a diph-

3. See, in addition to Sievers, Andreas Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte mit Einschluss des Altenglischen und Altnordischen Stabreimverses*, I and II, in *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, 8 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1925); John C. Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf* (New Haven, 1942); Paull F. Baum, "The Character of Anglo-Saxon Verse," *MP*, XXVIII (1930-31), 143-156, and "The Meter of *Beowulf*," *MP*, XLVI (1948-49), 75-91; 145-162.

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thong are diverged, instead of following the organic tendency to convergence." ⁴ Thomson's statement is also pertinent:

It may sometimes be difficult to distinguish between a true diphthong, as in monosyllabic *buy*, and two distinct vowels, as in the quadrisyllabic *aerated*, *aerial*, but when one of a pair of vowels clearly has the accent we have also a case of two syllables.⁵

In a language so relatively simple phonetically and so highly articulated as was the Anglo-Saxon (where all sounds are important enough to be indicated by the orthography and where inflectional endings are metrically significant) is it not possible that the unstressed element of the diphthong requires articulation sufficient to warrant the assigning of a metrical value to it? Klaeber's recognition of dissyllabic forms in certain contracted words, such as *frēan*, *orcneās*, *sēōn*, *fleōn*, *gepeōn*,⁶ implies such a possibility. Were the vowel combinations *ea*, *eo*, *io*, *ie* regularly dissyllabic or were there some valid means of determining when they are dissyllabic, there would be no necessity for the apparent inconsistency of scanning *frēan*, for example, sometimes as /x/, sometimes as /.

A measure of justification for the assumption of dissyllabic diphthongs in Anglo-Saxon may be attributed to the practice of the scribes. Anglo-Saxon was a highly articulated language and Anglo-Saxon orthography tended to represent all articulated sounds. In the *Beowulf* MS the vowels of the ligature *æ* are joined as closely as possible; that is, they stand as one letter. The vowel combinations *ea*, *eo* are also joined, but not as closely as possible: they are joined in the same way that a vowel is joined to a consonant. The combinations *io* and *ie* are normally not joined, a fact which may perhaps indicate the consonantal nature of *i* (*iu*, *iogub*, *io-mēowle*).

Another slight basis for the assumption may be found in the

4. Henry Sweet, *A History of English Sounds from the Earliest Period* (Oxford, 1888), p. 49.

5. Thomson, p. 188.

6. Fr. Klaeber, ed. *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (New York 1941), pp. 274-275.

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practice of certain metrists who, without discussing the syllabic nature of Medieval diphthongs, have attributed to them two metrical values. If there is anything to be concluded from a comparison of Anglo-Saxon with Medieval Latin in the transition period, C. M. Lewis's treatment of Medieval Latin hymns is pertinent here. In these hymns, if one may trust Lewis's scansion, diphthongs were either dissyllabic or monosyllabic. The line

Aurea luce et decore roseo

has, according to Lewis, the same rhythm as

This is my són, mine ówn Télemáchüs.⁷

The scansion would then be

Aúreá lúce ét décoré róseó,

with the *ea* of *aurea* monosyllabic and the *eo* of *roseo* dissyllabic. And without making any mention of the fact, E. W. Scripture splits a diphthong in his scansion of some lines from *Widsip*:

húru wélandes wórc ne ge swícep
mónna aénigum þára þe mímming can
heárdne ge heáldan oft aeft hílde gedréas
swát fag and sweórd wund sécg aeftér óprum.

Where :— represents a strong, accented vowel and _ a weak, unaccented vowel, the scheme of the line is as follows:

:/ . : / . . : / . . : / .
:/ . : / . . : / . . : / .
:/ . . . : / . . . : / . . : / .
:/ . . . : / . . : / . .⁸

It is interesting to note that Scripture accents the diphthong in *heardne* and *healdan* on the second element, thus: *heárdne*, *heáldan*—and attributes to each one metrical value, thus: :/— while he accents the diphthong in *gedreas* on the first element (*gedréas*) and assigns it two metrical values, thus: .:/. If Scripture is right, could one not infer that “falling” diphthongs tended to be dissyllabic, while “rising” diphthongs, in shifting stress to the second element, became true monosyllables?

7. *The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification*, Yale Studies in English, I (New York, 1898), p. 63.

8. “Die Grundgesetze des altenglischen Stabreimvers,” *Anglia*, LII (1928), 70-71.

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Whatever the inference may be, the case for “dissyllabic diphthongs” in Anglo-Saxon is rendered more plausible by the fact that where matters of pronunciation and stress shifting are concerned, grammarians are at considerable variance. Since no absolute standard of Anglo-Saxon pronunciation has been established, one must be guided by phonetic and phonological principles in determining the approximate pronunciation (and hence the potential metrical value) of vowel combinations that have given rise to inconsistencies in scansion.

A. J. Ellis, in his extensive treatise *On Early English Pronunciation*, writes of the combinations *ea* and *eo*:

[They] could scarcely have been (ja, jo) as Rask supposes. . . . But it is possible that they were occasionally pronounced with the second element more conspicuous than the first, so that though we may write (*ea*, *eo*), as true diphthongs, in the ordinary manner, it may be occasionally necessary to indicate the preponderance of the second element by writing (éá, éó) or more truly (eaa, eoo)⁹

That there are two distinctly articulated sounds is also suggested by Wright. “It is difficult to determine [he says] what was the precise pronunciation of the a, e, o in the second element of the diphthongs. In these combinations they had the function of consonants and may be pronounced as very short unstressed á, é, ó.”¹⁰ Thus, *ea* equals *ae* plus á (*eall*); éá equals áé plus a (*déab*); *eo* equals *e* plus ó (*meolcan*); éo equals é plus o (*céosan*); *ie* equals *i* plus é (*giest*); íe equals í plus e (*hieran*); *io* equals *i* plus ó (*liornian*); ío equals í plus o (*liode*).

Bright is more ambiguous. He states that the diphthongs, both long and short, “receive stress upon the first element; the second element, being unaccented, is very much obscured in pronunciation. The sound of *ea*, éá is approximately that of *ae+a*, áé+a (perhaps more nearly *ae+uh*).”¹¹ Of the diphthongs which

9. *On Early English Pronunciation, Part II: On the Pronunciation of the XIIIth and Previous Centuries, of Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, Old Norse and Gothic, with Chronological Tables of the Value of Letters and Expressions of Sound in English Writing*, EETS (London, 1869), p. 511.

10. J. and E. M. Wright, *Old English Grammar* (London, 1908), p. 7.

11. James W. Bright, ed. *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* (New York, 1947), p. xiv.

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result from the breaking of a front vowel before a velar consonant, he writes: "In passing from the pronunciation of the vowel to that of the consonant, a glide sound is produced which is *more or less a definite back vowel*. . . . It is this glide-vowel that supplied the second element of these short diphthongs."¹² Emerson's remarks indicate that the Anglo-Saxon diphthongs are to be considered "true diphthongs" and are not to be confused with vowel combinations in which each sound has a distinct articulation.¹³

The crux of the matter lies in the degree of articulation, and this depends—among other things—upon stress. It is customary to speak of the Anglo-Saxon diphthongs as "falling," that is, as having the stress on the first element. But can we be absolutely sure that this was the case? Ellis's discussion, cited above, suggests the possibility of variant pronunciations involving stress shifts within the Anglo-Saxon period. Brenner, in this connection, states emphatically that "the short *ea*'s of Anglo-Saxon could not have been spoken all alike, although in later times they again concurred."¹⁴ Does this assertion mean that the Anglo-Saxon diphthongs were sometimes "falling," sometimes "rising," depending upon the variation of the stress?

On the question of stress and quantity in the diphthongs of the early period, scholars are not always in accord. Sweet, in his first paper on English sounds, is in substantial agreement with Ellis. In describing the *ea* which results from breaking, he writes:

There can be no doubt that this *ea* was a true diphthong: its elements are never reversed, nor is it confounded with *ae* or *æ*. The only question is whether the stress was on the first or the second element. There is evidence which seems to point to the conclusion that the stress fell on the *a*. In Middle English the *ea* is generally lost, but in the archaic fourteenth-century Kentish of the Ayenbite, the old diphthong is still preserved in such words as *eald, healden*. But this *ea* is very often represented by *ya*. . . . Here we have the glide-vowel represented by the Middle English consonant *y*, showing clearly that the stress was on the *a*.¹⁵

12. *Ibid.*, p. xxi. Italics mine.

13. O. F. Emerson, *History of the English Language* (New York, 1895), p. 192.

14. O. Brenner, "Zur Aussprache des Angelsächsischen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, XX (1895), 554.

15. Sweet, *The History of English Sounds* [n.d], pp. 493-494.

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Similarly, the *eo* which results from breaking is said to have had stress on the second element. In the amplified work, published in 1888, Sweet discusses the *ēa*, *ēo*, *ea*, *eo* which derive from Germanic diphthongs:

It is certain [he writes] that the stress was not originally on the second element, for Gmc *au* and *eu* were certainly accented *āu*, *ēu*. The length must have been either on the first element, or else distributed over both. The former seems most probable.¹⁶

Here stress shifting during the early period is discounted, yet the Middle English evidence for shifting of stress in unstressed syllables is cited.

Orm's *ȝho*  = OE *hēo*, for instance, can only be explained from an OE *heō* through **hjō*. This law of stress-shift in weak diphthongs explains the 1North. *am=eom*: weak *eom* became first *eam*, then *eām*, and finally, by dropping the almost inaudible *o*, *am*.¹⁷

Sievers corroborates Sweet in asserting that "the stress is to be laid upon the former of the two sounds" in all Anglo-Saxon diphthongs. "The distribution of quantity is made by increasing the whole diphthong in pronunciation."¹⁸ He adds that "in later times" the accent was frequently shifted, but that a displacement "in the earlier period" was not probable.

Brenner's discussion of Anglo-Saxon pronunciation, which emphasizes throughout the importance of phonetics in the clarification of the older languages, accords with Ellis's more liberal view of the possibility of stress shifts in the early period. In attempting to determine stress in the diphthongs Brenner considers their origin and subsequent history. When, for example, the "hearable fore-sound" in *gaf* became distinct, it appeared in the orthography: *geaf*. The stress was on the second element because the sound became *a* in Middle English. (Both Sweet and Wright point out that diphthongs resulting from the influence of an initial palatal

16. Sweet, *A History of English Sounds from the Earliest Period*, p. 128.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

18. *An Old English Grammer*, trans. and ed. Albert S. Cook, 3rd ed. (New York, 1903), p. 19.

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were originally "rising," at a later period becoming "falling" by analogy with other *ea*'s and *eo*'s.) The *ea*'s and *eo*'s which result from breaking should have the stress on the first element, says Brenner, since the second element is a linking sound to the following r, l, h, w. But the *eo* in *ceorfan* would receive stress on the first element because the Middle English word was *kerven*, just as the *ea* in *weard* would receive stress on the second element because the Middle English equivalent was *ward*.¹⁹

The only conclusion that can be drawn with certainty from these pronouncements is that it is dangerous to speculate too far upon just how the *Beowulf* sounded either to the eighth-century poet who composed it or to an eleventh-century audience who heard the version which the MS transmits to us. Nevertheless, one must take a stand regarding Anglo-Saxon pronunciation if he is to read the poem with any assurance of being able to reproduce the spirit and effect of the early language without doing violence to his own sense of the logic of sound. In the case of the diphthongs in *Beowulf*, it seems logical to take the position that they were—under certain circumstances—dissyllabic. The problem is to determine under *what* circumstances they may be considered so and to demonstrate the effect of the dissyllabic diphthong on the meter of the poem.

Little that can be called evidence is to be acquired from the speculations of Ellis, Brenner, and Sweet, cited above, but their discussions reinforce a conclusion reached by the present writer on the basis of the ease or difficulty of pronunciation: there was probably a distinction in articulation between Anglo-Saxon diphthongs which derived from Germanic diphthongs and those which were formed in Anglo-Saxon because of the influence of adjacent or neighboring letters (those formed by breaking, umlaut, or initial palatal). Is it not reasonable to assume that the ēa, ēo which developed from áu, éu and those which resulted from contraction retained stress on the first element and were truly "falling," while the vowel combinations resulting from initial palatal, umlaut, or

19. Brenner, pp. 554-559.

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breaking may have been either "rising" or "falling," according to the strength of the influential letter?

The Anglo-Saxon diphthongs resulting from Germanic diphthongs and from contraction are long. While historical length and length by compensation are not in themselves criteria for determining metrical value, length does influence pronunciation to this extent, that long *ea*, *eo* are more difficult to pronounce with a "true glide effect" than are short *ea*, *eo*. *Ðēod*, *bēagas*, *hrēas*, *frēan*, if the *e* is given the sound of *e* in *they* and the following vowel is given any sound at all, almost surely become dissyllabic; but *sceal*, *weard*, *weorp*, because of the sound of short *e* (as in *men*), do actually produce a glide effect comparable to that in such modern diphthongs as *boy*, *house*, *few*. On the basis of pronunciation alone, then, it appears that the long diphthongs were truly "falling" and may well have been dissyllabic. Spelling in the MS supports this conclusion, for the long diphthongs do not exhibit the variations in spelling which characterize short diphthongs (*sceal*, *scel*, *scyl*; *weorod*, *werod*; *gefeah*, *gefeh*; *wealdend*, *waldend*).²⁰ This variation seems to indicate that the pronunciation of short diphthongs was flexible while that of long diphthongs was constant.

Pronunciation based on length alone, however, must not be taken as sole criterion, for certain long diphthongs following an initial palatal are difficult to pronounce with the stress on the first element and hence tend to be rising and monosyllabic: *gēar*, *iu*, *gesceōd*, *geōmor*.²¹ Both Sweet and Wright, it will be recalled, state that diphthongs following an initial palatal originally carried stress on the second element and were hence rising and that they became falling by analogy with other Anglo-Saxon diphthongs. Brenner's opinion was that the stress was determined by what the word was becoming. Hence, the diphthong in *ceorfan* would be falling; that in *weard*, rising. While these views cannot be taken

20. There are some exceptions (*ēaþ-*, *ýþ*) which may perhaps be accounted for on the basis of adjacent letters.

21. Most editors, including Klaeber, place the macron over the second vowel, a practice which seems a further indication of monosyllabicity.

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as evidence, it is interesting to note that they strengthen the position taken in this paper that diphthongs resulting from the influence of an initial palatal tend to be rising and monosyllabic. Similarly, it is felt that the linking nature of the second vowel in combinations preceding a velar consonant inclines the fracture diphthong toward monosyllabicity.

There remain, in addition, the diphthongs formed by umlaut. These constitute a very small proportion of the diphthongs in *Beowulf*. In the entire poem there are only nine words in twelve lines whose pronunciation as two syllables would affect the metrical movement of the lines: *meodo-*, *eafera*, *heapo-*, *heofenum*, *gearo*, *leomum*, *eotenas*, *gearwe*, *searo*. Since these are all short, and since variant spellings occur (*medo-*, *hefena*), it may be concluded that these, too, tend to be pronounced with a glide sound and that they should normally be accorded one metrical value.

There are, of course, a few words containing diphthongs that seem incapable of categorization on the basis of origin and phonetic characteristics outlined in the foregoing paragraphs. These are long diphthongs resulting either from a long diphthong in Germanic or, in the case of reduplicating verbs, from contraction (*oftēah*, *wēold*, *hēah*, *bēor-*, *getēoh*, *fēol*, *flēah*, *drēah*, *gēong*, *gescēat*). According to the criteria established above, they ought to be considered dissyllabic, but their resemblance to fracture and palatalized diphthongs makes their pronunciation ambiguous. Their metrical value, then, should be determined by the general movement of the lines, the number of unstressed syllables accompanying them, and the metrical context of the passage in which they occur.

The most valid grounds for determining when Anglo-Saxon diphthongs were dissyllabic, then, appear to be the phonological.²² The tendency to stress the first element, which arises from the original stress in Germanic, was continually crossed by the tendency

22. A useful aid in establishing the origin and treatment of diphthongs in *Beowulf* is Charles Davidson's "The Phonology of the Stressed Vowels in *Beowulf*," *PMLA*, VI (1891), 106-133.

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of diphthongs formed from the conjunction of a closer (higher) vowel with an opener (lower) vowel to shift the stress to the second element.²³ In diphthongs historically long and hence strong in the first element, the result of the conflicting tendencies is a falling diphthong with two metrical values; in diphthongs arising from umlaut, breaking, or initial palatal, the result is a "true glide effect" which, as far as the meter is concerned, is the equivalent of one value.

The consequence for the meter of the recognition of dissyllabic diphthongs is significant in that the general movement of lines is often modified. For example, a line like *pēodcyninga* (/x/x/x) ²⁴ is shown to have a movement similar to that of *pā waeſ Hrōbgāre* (/x/x/x) or *wade cunnedon* (/x/x/x) while, on the other hand, the distinction is made clear between the movement of a line like *weorþmyndum bāh* (/x/x/) ²⁵ and *Hrōbgār gesēon* (/x/x/x) or *wigendra hlēo* (/x/x/x) or *sinnihte hēold* (/x/x/x). These are distinctions involving the basic metrical framework of the poem rather than the rhythmic variations produced by gradations of stress.

A further effect on the reading of the poem is the establishment of a consistent principle for the treatment of contracted words which appear as diphthongs in the MS. There are about one hundred of these words, some thirty of which Klaeber considers dissyllabic in order to conform to the pattern of scansion prescribed by Sievers. Were the contract diphthongs regularly accorded two syllables, such half-lines as

16 b	him þaes Liffrea	^	^	/	/x
25 b	man geþeōn			/x	/x
112 b	ond orcneas		^	/	/x
116 b	hēan huses			/x	/x
1264 b	mandream fleōn			v	x/x/x

23. See Sweet, *A History of English Sounds from the Earliest Period*, p. 30.

24. The scheme /x is intended to represent a dissyllabic diphthong the first element of which is accented; x a dissyllabic diphthong in which both elements are unaccented.

25. The glide effect of monosyllabic diphthongs is represented by the scheme / in accented syllables; by x in unaccented syllables.

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would not appear exceptional but would exhibit the normal movement of lines with falling diphthongs. On the other hand, the monosyllabic forms which Klaeber recognizes as dissyllabic in order to satisfy the "demands of meter" (*gán* 306, 1644; *lýhp* 1048; *gaep* 2034, 2054; *dón* 1116, 1172, 1534, 2166; *dep* 1058, 1134, 2859; *stréd* 2436; *sý* 1831, 2649) remain logically monosyllabic, as the MS indicates. The resulting lines are characterized by a movement that is unusual in *Beowulf*, but by no means "exceptional."

- 386 Beō þū ón ófeste hât ín gán
 1048 mearum ond mádmum swâ hŷ næfrê man lýhp
 1644 Ðâ côm ín gán éaldor þegna
 1831 Geata dryhten þeah þe hé geong sý
 2436 máeges daedum mórbörbd stréd
 2649 hélpan hildfrumán þendén hýt sý

The remaining nine monosyllabic words fall into even more clearly recognizable patterns:

gaep

2034b on flett	gaep	^	/	/
2054b on flet	gaep	^	/	/

don

1116b ond on bael	don	^	^	/	/
1172b swa sceal man	don	^	^	/	/
1534b swa sceal man	don	^	^	/	/
2166b swa sceal maeg	don	^	^	/	/

dep

1058b swa he nu git	dep	^	^	^	/	/
1134b swa nu gyt	dep	^	^	/	/	/
2859b swa he nu gen	dep	^	^	^	/	/

Just what rhetorical or artistic significance these lines have can be determined only after detailed study of the passages in which they occur and consideration of the relationship of these passages to the whole poem. It is sufficient to point out here that the arbitrary "rules" of scansion should not be invoked to indicate pronunciation which the evidence of the MS does not support.

II

The Center of the *Parlement of Foules*

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IT IS profitable to read a poem in any way that will yield wisdom and delight to the reader. We may disregard the conventions in which the poem was written and make what we may of its disparate form. But if we take this approach to poetry, we may not at the same time ask what the poet intended to write, for the answer to that question, if it can be answered, involves other considerations. Several recent critics of the *Parlement of Foules*, it seems to me, bring to bear upon the poem modern aesthetic principles and modern taste, disregarding entirely the different tastes of the Middle Ages, and yet insist that by this means they arrive at Chaucer's poetic purpose. Specifically, the recent attempts¹ to find unity in the poem assume that mediaeval standards of unity were the same as ours; and all critical estimates, placing a low value on the setting of the parliament, the Gardon of Love with its personified abstractions, impose upon the work a modern judgment with which neither its author nor his audience seem to have agreed. Mr. Bronson's dismissal of the scene, though curt, is a fair example.² He says that the Gardon of Love from the *Teseide* is hastily borrowed, carelessly written, and "has little organic part in the total design." It is the purpose of this paper to argue that the Garden of Love is central to the poem and gives design to all the rest.

1. See Bertrand Bronson, "In Appreciation of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*," *Univ. of Calif. Pub. in English* III (1935), No. 5, pp. 193-224, and "The *Parliament of Fowls* Revisited," *ELH*, XV, 247-260; R. M. Lumiansky, "Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*: a Philosophical Interpretation," *RES*. XXIV (1948), 81-89; G. Stillwell, "Unity and Comedy in Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*," *JEGP*, XLIX (1950), 470-495.

2. *ELH*, XV, 257.

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Whatever other facets this poem may have, it is essentially a love poem, and it is about fertility and generation. It is a Valentine, not only adorned with, but written about, doves, cupids, and flowers. And being so centered, it is the most voluptuous poem Chaucer ever wrote. That would be apparent to any reader who looked at the garden sympathetically and who did not somehow regard it as unworthy of Chaucer to write a mere love vision. It is strange to read that Chaucer practiced the love vision, since it was popular, but that "it is clear enough that the subject and the *genre* were radically uncongenial to his temperament."³ Love uncongenial to the author of *Troilus and Criseyde!* And if the vision were so uncongenial, why did he use it again and again, even reverting to it after he had written *Troilus?* Popular it was indeed, but there were other forms in use in the fourteenth century. This would have been a strange judgment to all Chaucer lovers up to the middle of the nineteenth century, for his reputation until then rested upon *Troilus* and the various *amorosi visioni* and not upon the *Canterbury Tales*, as even a cursory reference to Miss Spurgeon's *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* will prove.

The trouble lies in our failure to realize that the poets of the Middle Ages took love seriously, found in it the best source of moral elevation, and, if we take literature rather than theology as a test, had no apologies to make for frank sensuality. One critic,⁴ finding the *Parlement* wholly ironic, identifies lovers with the "likerous folk" of the *Somnium* in the introduction who forfeit paradise, but I see no evidence that Chaucer made such an identification, who had the God of Love say, "ne shal no trewe lover come in helle."

As for Chaucer's repeated avowals that he knew nothing about love except what he read in books, that surely is one of his best jokes, and may have served not only for humor with his audience, but for protection as well. It allowed him to write the same sort

3. Bronson, first article cited, p. 197.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

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of poems Machaut and Deschamps wrote, but without pointing them toward any mistress and so maintain what was perhaps a delicate social balance in the court circles that listened to his poems. In the *Parlement* it makes little difference what his pose is, once he has been shoved through the gate, for here he is merely the reporter, not the participator, as in the *Book of the Duchess*, the *Hous of Fame*, and the *Legend*.⁵

If the piece is a love poem, then the Garden of Love is its very center, for the Garden supplies not merely a geographical but a psychological setting, as was its purpose in the *Roman de la Rose* and in all its numerous progeny. It does not matter in the least that Chaucer took over this description in almost all its details from the *Teseide* (Bk. VII, stanzas 51-60, 63-66, 61-62). He took from Boccaccio in as close a borrowing some of the most moving passages of *Troilus*, notably the proem of Book III, to take one example of scores. It is not where or in what detail he borrowed it but what he did with it that counts. What he did with it here seems to me adroitly felicitous. The Garden of Love condenses, as is the useful virtue of allegory, the whole amorous experience into a few stanzas. Read sympathetically and imaginatively it provides a realistic account of what love involved and places the "pletynge" of the birds against a rich psychological background. It offers, like the Temple of Venus in the *Knight's Tale*, "all the circumstaunces Of love, which that I rekned and rekne shal" (K. T., II. 1932-33), but the account here is more vivid. Furthermore, the Garden gives the *significatio* of the poem, and this theme is developed by debate in the Parliament that follows.

The Garden itself is the very type of fertility "That is no country for old men."

A garden saw I ful of blosmy bowes
Upon a ryver, in a grene mede,
There as swetnesse evermore inow is,

5. On this point see Kemp Malone, *Chapters on Chaucer* (Baltimore, 1951), pp. 64-65.

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With floures white, blewe, yelwe, and rede,
And colde welle-stremes, nothing dede,
That swymmen ful of smale fishes lighte,
With fynnes rede and skales sylver bryghte.

The symbol of water must have been a conscious one with Chaucer, for the flowing river full of life is contrasted to "the fish in prisoun al drye" (I. 139) to which the unsuccessful lover is compared. And the promise of successful love in the inscription over the gate uses the same symbolism, "Thorgh me men gon unto the welle of grace."⁶ The living trees listed in such detail (II. 173-182) recall the unfruitful tree of I. 137. Every detail reinforces the "sensual music" of the poem. Of the birds in the trees "Some beseyde hem bryddes forth to bringe." Indeed, the similarity is striking between Yeats' choice of detail in the first stanza of "Sailing to Byzantium" to give the impression of fertility and Chaucer's here;⁷ but in Chaucer's Earthly Paradise "no man may there waxe sek ne old." It borrows eternal day from the heavenly Jerusalem (II. 209-210, Apoc. xxi, 25).

The garden is presided over by the goddess Natura, and unless "Anelida and Arcite" antedated this poem, this is her first appearance in English literature.⁸ Chaucer took her from Alanus' *de Planctu Naturae*, a work that came to him with all the authority of the *Doctor Universalis*, as Alanus was called. In *de Planctu Nature* appears to the poet to lament the fact that of all creation

6. This is of course borrowed from religious symbolism, as was the whole religion of love, but ultimately fertility symbolism is responsible for it.

7. That is no country for old men. The young
In one another's arms, birds in the trees,
—Those dying generations—at their song,
The salmon-falls, the mackerel-crowded seas,
Fish, flesh, or fowl, commend all summer long
Whatever is begotten, born, and dies.
Caught in that sensual music all neglect
Monuments of unaging intellect.

This is not the place to treat the universality of the symbols of fertility, but the fishes and birds were surely recognized in the Middle Ages as the commonest. See the reproduction of Venus as Luxuria in Jean Seznec, *La Survivance des Dieux Antiques* (London, 1940), Plate XVI, opp. p. 86.

8. See *OED*, "Nature," IV, 11, b.

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man alone "perverts the rules of love,"⁹ both by unnatural forms of sexuality and by celibacy. In Alanus' cloudy eloquence she pleads for obedience to her laws. Her arguments and her significance were familiar to Chaucer and to all mediaeval literati through Jean de Meun's use of them in his long discourse of Nature in the *Roman de la Rose* (11. 16641-21545). The *Roman*, according to Langlois, owes more to *de Planctu* than to any other work: "C'est le traité d'Alain de Lille qui a fourni le plus de matière à Jean de Meun; plus de 5000 vers du roman sont traduits, imités ou inspirés du *De planctu Naturae*."¹⁰

Nature is, in both Alanus' and in Jeun de Meun's works, as in Boethius' system, "the vicare of the almyghty Lord" (*Dei auctoris viceria*), that force in the Neoplatonic system to which God relegated the power to sustain his creation on the earth.¹¹ She it is that holds all things in unity by obedience to her law—the law of attraction—and the description Alanus gives of her function parallels closely Lucretius' famous invocation to Venus.¹² The parallelism is not an accident, for by the twelfth century Nature had taken over the generative functions of Venus of the antique world. Partly as a protest against the elevation of chastity to the supreme virtue by the church, partly under the influence of the Neoplatonic Principle of Plenitude, Nature in all her fecundity becomes the controlling deity.¹³ For about Venus as goddess only there clung still some sense of the forbidden pagan, or some artificiality; whereas the basis of mediaeval thought, whether metaphysical or political, was a belief in the goodness of the natural world, and Nature, the vicar of God, is the legitimate object of adoration. In the works of Bernardus Sylvestris, Alanus, and Jeun de Meun she comes to restore man to his true function in life, which is to "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth."

9. The text is found in Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 210, 431-482. There is a translation by Douglas Moffat, *The Complaint of Nature by Alain de Lille*, Yale Series in English, XXXVI, (New York, 1908).

10. *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1894), p. 148.

11. Migne, 453.

12. *De Rerum Naturae* I, 1-40.

13. See A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass. 1936), ch. III.

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Venus remains in the picture, but, as in the *Roman* (esp. 11. 21591-21671), she is pure passion.

That fact accounts largely, I think, for Chaucer's treatment of Venus here. Like his portrait of her in the *Knight's Tale* (11. 1955-1966), it is a static view he presents of her, a set piece of portraiture with iconographical symbols.¹⁴ He regards her, when she is the goddess in Love's garden, as Nature's subordinate, and this agrees with what Natura says in *de Plactu*:

"In the outskirt world I stationed Venus, who is skilled in the knowledge of making, as under-deputy of my work, in order that she, under my judgment and guidance, and with the assisting activity of her husband Hymen and her son Cupid, by laboring at the various formation of the living things of earth, and regularly applying their productive hammers to their anvils, might weave together the line of the human race in unwearied continuation, to the end that it should not suffer violent sundering at the hands of the Fates."

Chaucer gives us merely Boccaccio's portrait of Venus, to be sure, but I cannot see that he has "nearly stripped her of her glamour."¹⁵ He simply leaves her in a subordinate position as one of the figures of the Garden because she is only one aspect of Nature herself, the presiding deity. When he writes of Venus as planet and goddess, as in the proem of the third book of *Troilus*, he can be as eloquent about her powers as Lucretius, though again Boccaccio is his source.

If we were in any doubt about the meaning of the Garden and

14. The iconography seems to have been fixed by Abricius Philosophus, *De Deorum Imaginibus (Mythographi Latini)*, Amsterdam, 1681, II, 304 ff.). Venus is treated in ch. V. See also Seznec, pp. 147-159, et passim.

15. Bronson's phrase. The *Parlement* says:

And naked from the brest unto the hed
Men myghte hire sen; and, sothly for to say,
The remenaunt was wel kevered to my pay,
Ryght with a sybtyl coverchef of Valence—
Ther nas no thikkere cloth of no defense.

Boccaccio has:

le bracciae 'l petto e' pomi rilevati
si vedean tutti, e l'altra parte d'una
veste tanto sottil si ricopria,
che quasi nulla appena nascondia.

Chaucer's "to my pay" refers, I think, to the fact that the cloth was very thin, not to her being covered, for the covering did not conceal. Robinson's comma after "pay" seems inept. Skeat omits it.

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of the poem, Chaucer has given us another unmistakable sign. The god of the Garden is Priapus, whom he saw

Within the temple in sovereign place stonde,
In swich aray as when the asse hym shente
With cri by nighte.

Chaucer does not put the erect plallus into a poem when he means to subordinate sensuality.¹⁶

Nature and Priapus are the presiding deities in the Garden. The other figures constitute the sort of allegorical presentation of the libido that the *Roman de la Rose* had made so popular. This allegory would never have become popular if it had not been extremely effective: it presents in highly condensed form a range of experience that otherwise could not be got into a short poem. But in spite of Lewis' fine reading of the first part of the *Roman*,¹⁷ we have not recovered the art of enjoying this kind of allegory. The controlling metaphor is the comparison of the experience of love, in all its aspects, with a garden peopled by the attributes of the experience. These are not all states of mind, like Plesaunce, Lust, Delyt; some are the things that cause the state of mind, such as Beute, Flaterye, Byheste (promises), Aray, and Art. Some are the means of bringing about sexual experience, such as Messagerye and Meede (perhaps tipping the maid). They are by no means all idealistic and romantic, though the general impression is that the experience is a kind of Paradise. Rape is here—

the Craft that can and hath the myght
To don by force a wyght to don folye—
Disfigurat was she, I nyl nat lye—

and Jealousy, that causes the temple to burn with sighs of sorrow. One of the most delightful touches is the description of Dame Patience on a hill of sand (Chaucer's addition), the point being that in love patience has a very insecure foundation. Again the emphasis is on the sensual aspect. It is like Juliet's epithalamion,

16. The story of Priapus' attempt to ravish the Naiad Lotis is told by Ovid in *Fasti* I, 415 ff. The pertinent lines are,

at deus obscena nimium quoque parte paratus
omnibus ad lunae lumina risus erat.

17. C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), ch. III.

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and in the whole of the description there is the same mixture of romantic idealism and crass sensuality that Shakespeare put into *Romeo and Juliet*, for both poets understood the range of what they were treating.

What has perhaps prevented this description from being properly appreciated is the fact that the allegory does not move and so may not seem to be real allegory. The heart of allegory is that the characters engage in action, for only by what they do can we get the story. The Lover attempts to win the Rose and is frustrated for a time by various things, but finally plucks it. The Red Cross Knight encounters a lady in distress, fights her battles, is taken captive by her foe, and finally kills a dragon. A marriage is announced between False and Lady Meed, Theology enters objections, and there is a legal suit to determine who ought to have the lady. Here the figures merely stand, and the reader has to supply the action in his imagination. He must from his own experience bring Foolhardynesse to life—and the poem gains great vividness when he does—send Messagerye on her errands, and imagine the effect of “Beaute withouten any atyr.” If he does so he gets, not a novel, but a realistic Anatomy of Sexual Attraction, the effect of which is anything but cold and dull. This is the background against which the birds choose their mates. This is what it is all about, and this is the state of mind induced on St. Valentine’s Day. Its general atmosphere is uninhibited voluptuousness.

When the birds appear before Nature we have a striking contrast. All are there, “of every kynde that men thynke may,” and they are there for one purpose, to choose their mates. Then emerges the central irony of the poem. Birds, the symbols of fertility, might be expected to go straight to the matter in hand and, with a few amorous contests, make their choices. But they become human and complicate the biological demands with elaborate conventions, differences of mores, different attitudes towards the choice. Here is the essential irony of the human situation, upon which our own time has written voluminous comment. The arguments of the birds run the gamut from an idealism that is a trifle

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artificial and a trifle amusing to the selfish directness of the cuckoo:

“So I,” quod he, “may have my make in pes,
I reche nat how longe that ye stryve.”

This was promised in the very setting of the Garden, but it is startling to see in an actual situation the juxtaposition of turtle dove and goose with their contrasting attitudes towards love.

Chaucer's picture of human disagreements, against the background of Nature's simple plan, constitutes the main point of the poem, it seems to me. Topical allegory there may be—and I think there is—but a topical allegory is rarely the central one in a good poem. Jordanus' *Pavo*,¹⁸ Graunson's *Songe Saint Valentin*,¹⁹ and Dunbar's *Thissel and the Rose*,²⁰ the first two possible sources of this poem and the last an obvious imitation of it, were all topical in purpose, and so the *Parlement* may have been written to celebrate the betrothal of Richard and Marie of France.²¹ There would be no want of compliment in it if it were, for, though the aristocratic attitude toward courtly love may be faintly satirized, the touch is delicate, no more than Chaucer directs toward his amorous Squire, and this view of love is clearly superior to the others. It is just such an occasional poem as *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, which celebrates a wedding with a play about the irrationality of love! But whatever topical reference is present is of secondary importance to the delightfully satiric view of the human situation that emerges when birds begin to argue about sexual mores.

The poem is not, I think, a satire on courtly love, nor yet on the folly of allowing the lower classes to speak in Parliament. Certainly the inability of those so lacking in gentility “that what love is (they) can not seen ne gesse” is held up to ridicule. But this kind of gentillesse is not a matter of social class, for the turtle

18. See Phillip W. Damon, “The *Parlement of Foules* and the *Pavo*,” *MLN*, LXVII (1952), 520-524.

19. See Haldeen Braddy, *Chaucer and the French Poet Graunson* (Baton Rouge, 1947).

20. *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by John Small, *Scottish Text Society*, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1893, 2, 183-189. See also O. F. Emerson, “What is the *Parlement of Foules*?” *JEGP*, XIII (1914), 1-17.

21. See Haldeen Braddy, *Three Chaucer Studies* (New York, 1932), No. II.

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dove, spokesman for the seed-fowls, certainly one of the humbler ranks, argues for eternal faithfulness. But the satire is broader than this and includes all classes: none can enter this paradise of love and find its spiritual as well as its physical values without complications and frustrations.

In the end Nature acceded to the demands of the lower classes, tabled the business of who should have the formel, and allowed the other birds to choose. As they take their mates, "thankyng alwey the noble goddesse of kynde," the poem reiterates the theme of fertility and ends in the song in honor of Nature. In spite of the fine-spun debates on courtly love, the process of generation goes on.

But where is the unity in a poem which begins with a resumé of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* with its apocalyptic vision and its plea for a life devoted to the public weal, and proceeds to a *love-debat*? The eternal felicity promised by Africanus to those who love "commune profyt" is a different bliss from that of the Garden of Love, and the harmony of the spheres to which Scipio listened, though echoed in the "ravyshyng sweetnesse" of the music of the Garden, has a loftier tone. I cannot answer that question, though I can find a few points of connection between the Dream and the last of the poem. One is the irony implied in Africanus' reiteration of concern for the "commune profyt" and the absence of such a sense in the avian parliament—the cuckoo's idea of "commune spede" is to remove quickly all hindrances to his getting what he wants. Throughout the debate Chaucer emphasizes human perversity. Neither to eternal nor to temporal blessedness are the birds (or human beings) able "to catch the nearest way."

The unifying principle of the poem is to be found, I think, by considering mediaeval aesthetic tenets that we may not have fully grasped. Any attempt to force a unity on it which necessitates subordinating the Garden of Love seems to me to be false to the demands of the *genre* in which the poem was written—a form which Chaucer freely chose, we must suppose, to express what he had to say. The Middle Ages had a higher tolerance for en-

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cyclopaedic works than we have and allowed a freer kind of coherence. In fact, we can point to few Divine Comedies where the organizing principle is of marvelous firmness. The popular works—Alanus' *Anticlaudianus*; Bernardus Sylvestris' *De mundi universitate, sive Megacosmus et Microcosmus*; the *Roman de la Rose*; or even the French prose *Lancelot* or the *Perlesvaus*—add one thing to another to produce macrocosm and microcosm and organize according to principles not easily apparent. But it would be a mistake to think they lack organization. In the case of the Arthurian romances mediaeval rhetorical principles and even a system of symbolism now lost probably dictated the kind of order these works followed.²²

Within the canon of Chaucer's works we have this same encyclopaedic taste operating in the *Hous of Fame*, and disparities of tone that are common and puzzling to moderns. For example, the scene of the pitiful death of Arcite in the *Knight's Tale* begins with the description of his malady which contains the, to our ears, flippant lines,

And certeinly, ther Nature wol nat wirche,
Fare wel phisik! go ber the man to chirchel

Critics have concluded from it that Chaucer was always unsympathetic to Arcite and to the contest, but I cannot think that was true. The uproarious "Compleint of Chaucer to his Purse" ends with a sober and serious address to the newly crowned Henry IV.²³ Even in the "Balade de Bon Conseyl," beautifully and deeply religious in tone, there must have been some humor in addressing Sir Philip de la Vache as "thou Vache." Inconsistencies and loose connections are fairly common. Not unique, either, is this roundabout, almost sly, introduction to the poem. "Love is a wonderful thing. I don't know anything about it except what I read in books. I read a good many books, both for pleasure and

22. See especially *Le Haute Livre du Graal Perlesvaus*, ed. W. A. Nitze *et al.* (Chicago, 1937), II, 157-172.

23. The significance of several phrases of the Envoy was made clear to me by a paper not yet published by Miss Mary Giffin of Vassar.

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profit. The other day I read Cicero's Dream of Scipio, and that night I dreamed I saw Africanus." Chaucer is even worse—or better—than this in getting into the Prologue to the *Legend*. These indirect beginnings must have amused his audience, but I don't believe we can be clear about their ironies, if irony is implied, until we know more about mediaeval aesthetics.

What is clear enough about the *Parlement* is its very conscious artifice and elaborate rhetoric. It begins in one of the approved ways of opening a poem, with a *sententia*²⁴; it proceeds to the approved *permutatio* of a dream-vision; the invocation comes at the right place (ll. 113-119); the development of the subject is by a recognized method—that is, the Garden of Love gives the theme, specifically courtly love, and the theme is developed in the Parliament by *debat*, by citing arguments for and against the subject.²⁵ Skillfully, though perhaps more unconventionally, the customary comparison between the bliss of heaven and the bliss of the earthly paradise of love is given by the summary of Scipio's Dream and the Garden in which the lover finds himself.

But the analysis of Chaucer's rhetorical pattern is not the subject of this paper. What I wish to emphasize is that the center of the poem is the Garden and that the *Parlement* is a valentine. Its tone is humorous and its adornment is elaborate. Chaucer wrote it before he had matured his realistic vein, but even so it has the authentic mark of its maker, the enjoyment of many varieties of human experience. We will enjoy it most when we surrender to the music of the Garden and take all its mediaeval features as unskeptically but as imaginatively as did its first audience.

24. See E. Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1924), p. 58.

25. For these devices of rhetoric see Faral, *passim*.

III

Browning's *Childe Roland* and Chaucer's *House of Fame*

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THE PURPOSE of this article is to introduce an interpretation of Browning's *Childe Roland* that is developed out of parallels existing between the poem and Chaucer's *House of Fame*. The evidence and the elucidation are preceded by a summary of the relevant scholarship that has been published to date on the Browning fantasy.

I

Mrs. Sutherland Orr stated that *Childe Roland* was influenced by "a tower which Mr. Browning once saw in the Carrara Mountains, a painting which caught his eye years later in Paris; and the figure of a horse in the tapestry in his own drawing-room—welded together in the remembrance of the line from *King Lear*, which forms the heading of the poem."¹ During a visit to Browning, Rev. John W. Chadwick "asked . . . if the beast of the tapestry was the beast of the poem; and he said yes . . . [Chadwick] further asked him if he had said that he only wrote *Childe Roland* for its realistic imagery, without any moral purpose, a notion to which Mrs. Sutherland Orr has given currency; and he protested that he never had. When [Chadwick] asked him if constancy to an ideal—'He that endureth to the end shall be saved'—was not a sufficient understanding of the central purpose of the poem, he said, 'Yes, just about that.'"² Mrs. Bloomfield-Moore states that

1. Mrs. Sutherland Orr, *A Handbook to the Works of Robert Browning* (London, 1923), p. 274.

2. J. W. Chadwick, "An Eagle Feather," *The Christian Register*, Vol. 67 (January, 1888), p. 37.

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Browning told her the poem "was 'only a fantasy,' that he had written it because it pleased his fancy."³ On March 6, 1889, Browning wrote to Miss Irene Hardy, who thought she had found a source for the poem in Scott's *Bridal of Triermain*, "My own performance was wholly suggested by the line from *Lear* in connection with a tower I happened to see among some hills near Carrara in Italy. Believe me, dear Miss Hardy."⁴

Explained by only these teasing comments from the author, *Childe Roland* has continued to challenge source-hunting scholars as dauntlessly as he did the Dark Tower; still they have ransacked literature for parallels to the poet's thought and imagery—anything which Browning might have used, unconsciously, as a source.⁵ "By far the best of these searches is the article by Mr. Harold Golder in 1924, which surveys the literature of fairyland . . . in order to see what Browning might have unconsciously drawn upon."⁶ In 1925, William Clyde De Vane suggested that Gerard de Lairesse's *The Art of Painting in All Its Branches*, translated from the Dutch by J. F. Fritsch in 1778, "provided Browning at an early age with his conception of the beautiful and the horrible in landscape, and became so much a part of his intellectual equipment that he forgot what it had done for him."⁷ "Here," writes De Vane, "the old cripple, the pathless field, the desperate vegetation, the spiteful little river, the killing of the water-rat, the enclosing mountains, the leering sunset, and many other elements of *Childe Roland* are to be found."⁸ There is no doubt

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3. Mrs. Bloomfield-Moore, *Lippincott's Magazine*, Vol. 45 (1890). Noted by George Willis Cooke, *A Guide-Book to the Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning* (Boston, 1891), p. 80.
 4. Irene Hardy, "Browning's *Childe Roland*—A Literary Parallel," *Poet Lore*, Vol. 24 (1913), pp. 53-58.
 5. William Clyde De Vane, *A Browning Handbook* (New York, 1935), p. 205. See De Vane's note: M. Sears Brooks, "Childe Roland and its Danish Source," in *Poet Lore*, 4: 425-428; T. W. Higginson, "Childe Roland and Heine's *Die Schwabenspeigel*," in *Poet Lore*, 13: 262-268; and T. P. Savin, "Childe Roland and Tennyson's *Vision of Sin*," in *Poet Lore*, 9: 256-265. "None of these attempts to prove a source carries conviction," says De Vane.
 6. De Vane, p. 205. See Harold Golder, "Browning's *Childe Roland*," *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 963-978.
 7. *Ibid.* See De Vane's article, "The Landscape of Browning's *Childe Roland*," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 426-32.
 8. De Vane, *a Browning Handbook*, p. 206. I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. William King who assisted me on Sections I and II of this paper.

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that these are striking similarities. It is our purpose, even so, to point out equally striking parallels in both detail and sequence of detail between *Childe Roland* and *The House of Fame*.

II

As for the external evidence connecting Browning with Chaucer's works, one may note that he made frequent reference to the older poet in his correspondence; and in one letter, dated December 19, 1845, to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, he spoke of Chaucer's poetry as a kind of alluvial deposit of learning for the enrichment of successive writers:

... the provident man brings his bundle into the grounds, and sticks them in laterally or a-top of the others, as the case requires, and all the old stocks go on growing again—but here, with us, whoever *wanted* Chaucer . . . got him long ago—what else have Lamb, and Coleridge, and Hazlitt and Hunt and so on to the end of their generations . . . been doing this many a year? What one passage of all these, cited with the very air of a Columbus, but has been known to all who know anything of poetry this many a year? The others, who don't know anything, are the stocks that have got to shoot, not climb higher—*compost*, they want in the first place.⁹

A quotation from *The Guardian* No. 12, a paper which has been attributed to Pope,¹⁰ may serve to reinforce this:

... a happy Imitation . . . revives in [a learned Reader's] Mind the Pleasure he took in his first reading . . . Such Copyings as these give that kind of double Delight which we perceive when we look upon the Children of a beautiful Couple; where the Eye is not more charm'd with the Symmetry of the Parts, than the Mind by observing the Resemblance transmitted from Parents to their Offspring, and the mingled Features of the Father and the Mother.¹¹

In the following section of parallels, then, may the stress fall upon the importance of the demonstration of the inheritance of traditional ideas passed on from one reputable writer to another.

9. *The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (New York, 1899), I, 335.

10. Alexander Pope, *The Prose Works*, ed. N. Ault (Oxford, 1936), I, lxi ff.

11. Quoted by John Butt in "The Inspiration of Pope's Poetry," *Essays on the Eighteenth Century, presented to David Nichol Smith* (Oxford, 1945), p. 76.

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III

Childe Roland began his quest by asking the way to the Dark Tower when he came upon an old man who was set in the way to

. . . ensnare
All travellers who might find him posted there,
And ask the road.

(8-10)¹²

Chaucer, also in search of a guide upon coming forth from the Temple of Venus, says:

But now wol I goo out and see,
Ryght at the wicket, yf y kan
See owhere any stiryng man
That may me telle where I am.
(476-479)¹³

Following the directions of the old man, Childe Roland meditates upon the equal likelihood of *success* or *failure*. The eagle says to Chaucer:

"... Walke forth a pas,
And tak thyn aventure or cas,
That thou shalt fynde in Fames place."
(1051-1053)

Turning from the old man, Childe Roland comes to a "plain all round: / Nothing but plain to the horizon's bound" (52, 53). There was "no sight as far as eye could strain" (105) just as Chaucer had said, "Then sawgh I but a large feld, / As fer as that I myghte see" (482, 483). The Browning plain is a place of

. . . starved ignoble nature; nothing thrrove:
For flowers—as well expect a cedar grovel
But cockle, spurge, according to their law
Might propagate their kind, with none to awe,
You'd think; a bur had been a treasure trove.
(56-60)

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12. This and all subsequent references to Browning's poem are by line to the text of *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Game* as printed in *Victorian and Later English Poets*, ed. James Stephens, Edwin L. Beck, and Royall H. Snow (New York, 1934), pp. 322-326.
13. This and all subsequent references to Chaucer's *House of Fame* are by lines (as numbered continuously throughout the poem without reference to book divisions) to the text presented in *Chaucer's Complete Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933).

BROWNING'S *Childe Roland* AND CHAUCER'S *House of Fame*

Similarly, the Chaucerian plain was

Withouten toun, or hous, or tree,
Or bush, or grass, or eryd lond.
(484, 485)

Ne no maner creature
That ys yformed be Nature
Ne sawgh I, me to rede or wisse.
(489-491)

In the moment that Chaucer, upon the plain, cries out, "O Crist! . . . that art in blysse, / Fro fantome and illusion / Me save!" (492-494), and just when Childe Roland seems ". . . as far as ever from the end! / Nought in the distance but the evening, nought / To point [his] footstep further!" (157-159) both men are approached by birds. Said Chaucer,

Me thoughte I sawgh an egle sore,
But that hit semed moche more
Then I had any egle seyn.
(499-501)

And said Childe Roland,

. . . At the thought,
A great black bird, Apollyon's bosom-friend,
Sailed past.
(159-161)

Chaucer's eagle is golden and sacred to Jove. Browning's comes from Apollyon, the destroyer, the angel of the bottomless pit (Revelation, ix, 1-11), who figures in Bunyan's *Pilgrim Progress*. Roland remarks that this bird is "perchance the guide [he] sought" (162). Chaucer's eagle-guide was sent to

. . . bere the to a place
Which that hight the Hous of Fame.
(662, 663)

Childe Roland's quest is ended the moment that "looking up, aware [he] somehow grew" (162). Chaucer, praying to Christ to save him from "fantom and illusion" had also his "eyen to the

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hevene . . . caste" (495) as the eagle came into sight. Later he quoted Boece to the effect that

"A thought may flee so hye,
Wyth fetheres of Philosophye,
To passen everych element . . ."
(973-975)

Roland only says, "aware I somehow grew" and "I seemed to recognise some trick / Of mischief happened to me, God knows when— / In a bad dream perhaps" (169-171). Chaucer's entire experience in *The House of Fame* was a dream: "Now herkeneth, every maner man / That Englisshe understonde kan, / And listeneth of my drem to lere" (509-511).¹⁴ And he remarks of his experience with the eagle,

. . . whoso of these miracles
The causes knoweth bet then I,
Devyne he . . .
(12-14)

Or as Browning puts it, "solve it you!" And Chaucer again: "To tellen al my drem aryght. / Now kythe thyn engyn and myght!" (527, 528).

Childe Roland's tower is built of "brown stone, without a counterpart / In the whole world" (183-184). Chaucer's must have seemed equally as rare, for he noted, "in al myn age, / Ne saugh y such an hous as this," (1986, 1987) and that "Al was of ston of beryle, / Bothe the castel and the tour" (1184-1185). Here, for the first time, Chaucer uses the word *tour*.

The noise that Childe Roland hears at the tower

. . . was everywhere! it tolled
Increasing like a bell. Names in my ears
Of all the lost adventurers my peers,
How such a one was strong, and such was bold,
And such was fortunate, yet each of old
Lost, lost! one moment knelled the woe of years.
(193-198)

14. This dream convention, handled with considerable freedom and made the vehicle of many ideas quite remote from the original allegories of love, may be found in such French visions as Froissart's *Paradyss d'Amours* and *Temple d'Onnour* and *La Panthere d'Amours* of Nicole de Margival.

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Said Chaucer to the eagle regarding the same,

For the love of God, telle me—
In sooth, that wil I of the lere—
Yf thys noyse that I here
Be, as I have herd the tellen,
Of folk that doun in erthe duellen,
And cometh here in the same wyse
As I the herde or this devyse.

(1054-1060)

Thus, in the older poem (as well as Browning's),

... every speche, or noyse, or soun,
Thurgh hys multiplicacioun,
Thogh hyt were piped of a mous,
Mot nede come to Fames Hous.

(782-785)

At the House of Fame, Chaucer's "Godesse of Renoun or of Fame" sits enthroned, a whimsical judge who admits that there is "in [her] no justice" (1820). The incessant influx of fame-seekers beg her graciousness,

And somme of hem she graunted sone,
And somme she werned wel and faire,
And somme she graunted the contraire
Of her axyng outterly.
But thus I seye yow, trewely,
What her cause was, y nyste.
For of this folk ful wel y wiste,
They hadde good fame ech deserved
Although they were dyversly served;
Ryght as her suster, dame Fortune,
Ys wont to serven in comune.

(1538-1548)

Thus, at the tower of Childe Roland, Cuthbert and Giles had been served "dyversly" though they had seemingly "good fame ech deserved," one being a "dear fellow" and the other, "the soul of honor." Giles it was who fell into "hangman hands." Or as Chaucer's "godesse" says it, "Men rather yow to hangen oughte!" (1782). Browning calls Giles a "poor traitor." The Goddesse of Fame cries, "What? false theves! wher ye wolde / Be famous good, and nothing nolde / Deserve why, ne never ye roughte?" (1779-1781).

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This whimsical, deluded Goddess of Fame sent to "Trace" for Eolus "And bid him bringe his clarioun, / . . . / With which he wont is to heraude / Hem that me list ypreised be" (1573-1577). Eolus, at one time, because he "wolde fayn han had a fame" had set fire to "the temple of Ysidis / In Athenes" (1844, 1845). Or as he told the questioning Goddess of Fame,

And for to gette of Fames hire,
The temple sette y al afire.
Now do our loos be blowen swithe,
As wisly be thou ever blythel

(1857-1860)

Said Roland, "in a sheet of flame / I saw them and I knew them all. And yet / Dauntless the slug-horn to my lips I set / And blew" (201-206). It would seem that Roland, like Eolus, might "fayn han had a fame," and that he will do his own trumpeting rather than leave the clarionage to the Fame Goddess' herald.

Browning, it seems, has fused Chaucer's House of Fame, House of Rumor, and Temple of Venus. It was at the latter that Chaucer saw the murals on the walls depicting the history of Troy. This, like the dream, is a literary convention known as the mural convention.¹⁵ How else can we explain Childe Roland's ambiguous statement that the onlookers at the Dark Tower were waiting to view the last that remained of him, "a living frame / For one more picture!" (200, 201). Obviously he will become a figure in the "curious portreytures" on the walls, or as stated in *The Legend of Good Women*: he will be "depeynted on a wal."

In these similarities, it may be seen that

Literary inspiration is not essentially different from inspiration derived from life. The reading of a book can be an emotional experience as much as the sight of a field of daffodils, as Keats found when he looked into Chapman's Homer. Literary experience, therefore, is a part of a store of emotional experiences upon which the poet can draw for his work.

15. This mural convention may be found employed in the suggestion of painting on the walls in the temple of Juno in the *Aeneid*, i, 446 ff. It was also used in numerous medieval works such as the *De Deorum Imaginibus* of Albricus Philosophus (printed in Van Stavern's *Auctores Mythographi Latini*, Leyden, 1742) and, of course, in Chaucer's *House of Fame* and in the Dido story from *The Legend of Good Women*.

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There is this difference, however, that whereas most emotional experiences will be recollected in some form unconnected with words, a literary experience will return with *some memory of the words* which the writer has used. There is also the frequent possibility of literary experiences mixing with other experiences, of our recollecting at some *emotional crisis* the literary expression which had once before been given to it.¹⁶

IV

We have seen that Browning's poem indicates some memory of detail, of sequence of detail, and of words. If there is truth in *Chaucer lent R. B. this idle gold* (a perfect anagram for *Childe Roland, Cuthbert, and Giles*), then what may be the "emotional crisis" in Browning's life that called forth a symbolism from Chaucer's *House of Fame*? It is known that Fame was not completely generous with Browning in his lifetime. In *The Ring and the Book* he wrote, "Well, British Public, ye who like me not, (God love you!) and will have your proper laugh At the dark question, laugh it! I laugh first!"¹⁷ It was only with the publication of *The Ring and the Book* in 1868 that Browning became "second to Tennyson, the most honored living poet of England."¹⁸ It is most interesting that he would borrow Chaucer's concept of Fame as being not a completely genuine state, but rather the sounding of a great deal of noise even though it might have been piped by a mouse.

I suggest that Child Roland's quest, as was Browning's, is the lifelong struggle of a poet in search of lasting fame. For a long time, he remains upon a sterile plain, and then he looks up finally and becomes aware without understanding it. Immediately, he sees the tower of Fame itself. Strangely, he was caught "a-dozing [even] after a life spent training for the sight." At Fame's place, he hears of other poets who have failed or succeeded according to no reasonable pattern of judgment. Indeed, he had "so long suffered in this quest, / Heard failure prophesied so oft, been writ

16. Butt, pp. 74, 75. Italics are my own.

17. Robert Browning, *The Ring and the Book* (New York, 1897), Bk. I, ll. 410-12.

18. De Vane, *A Browning Handbook*, p. 28.

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/ So many times among ‘The Band,’ ” the poets who to Fame’s tower addressed their steps. Thus, in the presence of the entire company of the literary progression, he too will become a mural in the House of Fame perhaps. But he does not allow an Eolus to sound forth his fame or his oblivion as the whimsical judgment may fall. He dauntlessly approaches the tower of Fame, blows his own trumpet, and waits.

Said Chadwick, “is constancy to an ideal—‘He that endureth to the end shall be saved’ . . . a sufficient understanding of the central purpose of the poem?” “Yes,” Browning answered, “Just about that.”

IV

Love and Grace in Chaucer's *Troilus*

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THE LOVE between Troilus and Criseyde is expressed in terms of the conventional ideas and forms that belong to courtly love.¹ It pertains to creature for creature's sake, and is therefore earthly. Opposed to it is heavenly love, which pertains to God or to a creature on account of God.² Chaucer is aware of the opposition between earthly and heavenly love, and although he ultimately favors the latter, he has complete sympathy for earthly lovers, whom he wishes to serve in spite of his own unfitness to be one of them.³

In *Troilus* the two kinds of love appear in various relations. At some points in the poem, they are opposed irreconcilably, and heavenly love is preferred.⁴ Pandarus warns Troilus that worldly

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1. *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933), p. 452. Hereafter individual pieces will be cited from this text by title. On courtly love in *Troilus*, see W. G. Dodd, *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, Harvard Studies in English, I (Boston, 1913), pp. 129-208; T. A. Kirby, *Chaucer's Troilus: A Study in Courtly Love* (Baton Rouge, 1940).
 2. For the opposition between earthly and heavenly love, according to the views of churchmen from St. Augustine to St. Thomas Aquinas, see E. E. Slaughter, *Love and the Virtues and Vices in Chaucer* (Nashville, 1946), pp. 3-4.
 3. *Troilus* I, 10-21, 47-51.
 4. On the palinode in *Troilus*, see D. S. Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose* (New York, 1914), p. 228; G. L. Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), pp. 142-145; J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Epilog in Chaucer's 'Troilus,'" *MP*, XVIII (1921), 625-659; *The Mind and Art of Chaucer* (Syracuse, 1950), pp. 48-49; Karl Young, "Chaucer's Renunciation of Love in *Troilus*," *MLN*, XL (1925), 270-276; R. K. Root, ed., *The Book of Troilus and Criseyde by Geoffrey Chaucer* (Princeton, 1926), pp. xlvi-1; W. C. Curry, "Destiny in Chaucer's *Troilus*," *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 165-168; Robinson, p. 452; J. L. Lowes, *Geoffrey Chaucer and the Development of His Genius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p. 191; C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), p. 43; H. R. Patch, *On Rereading Chaucer* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp. 59-73, 102-108, 113-121, 236; J. L. Shanley, "The Troilus and Christian Love," *ELH*, VI (1939), 271-281; Kirby, pp. 281-284; P. V. Shelly, *The Living Chaucer* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 143; Marchette Chute, *Geoffrey Chaucer of England* (New York, 1946), pp. 182-184; A. J. Denomy, *The Heresy of Courtly Love* (New York, 1947), pp.

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joy holds only by a wire (III. 1636). Criseyde says prayer and reading saints' lives, rather than May dances, befit a widow (II. 113-119). She would have been blamed greatly if she, by her own mischance, had fallen in love (II. 414-420). She finds this world's happiness is false and mixed with bitterness (III. 813-836); sorrow always follows bliss (IV. 834-840). As Troilus in the eighth sphere listens to heavenly melody, he beholds the vanity of earthly love (V. 1807-1825). Chaucer declares that joy lasts all too little (IV. 1-10); as Troilus finds Criseyde false, so goes the world (V. 1434, 1748-50, 1828-34). Young men and women therefore should cast their hearts on God—the true one, and not pagan gods (V. 1835-56). At other points when opposition arises, earthly love is preferred.⁵ In it there is a joy that may not be written with ink (III. 1693). Not even death (IV. 319-322) or the gods and Fortune⁶ can separate a lover's spirit from his lady—and Troilus's love for Criseyde never ends (V. 1696-1701). Criseyde decides that love's felicity is enough for her (V. 763). At many points within the poem, earthly love is extenuated and apparently reconciled to heavenly love.⁷ The moral responsibility

54-55; "The Two Moralities of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XLIV, Ser. III (June 1950), Sec. Two, p. 43; Mary Edith Thomas, *Medieval Skepticism and Chaucer* (New York, 1950), 98-99; Kemp Malone, *Chapters on Chaucer* (Baltimore, 1951), pp. 106, 135-143; J. W. Clark, "Dante and the Epilogue of *Troilus*," *JEGP*, L (1951), 1-10; M. W. Bloomfield, "Chaucer's Sense of History," *JEGP*, LI (1952), 308, 312.

5. This willfulness in the lover appears frequently in Provencal, French, and English love poetry from the twelfth century to Chaucer. See Lewis, pp. 17-22; Slaughter, p. 17. Commonly, the lover is willing to go to hell for love, as in Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. E. Langlois, SATF (Paris, 1914-1924), lines 6915-6916.
6. IV. 1191-97. In his sad frenzy and madness, Troilus curses all the gods and everything except his lady (V. 206-210). Probably the correct interpretation of these passages is that Troilus is not to be blamed for cursing the gods because the vehemence of his emotion has rendered his action completely involuntary and therefore unmoral. See St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (Ottawa, Canada, 1941), I-II. 10:3; for English translation I follow *Summa Theologica, Literally Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province* (New York, 1947).
7. Although these extenuations and reconciliations are not Chaucer's invention, they are present by his consent, and many of them are his additions to the *Filostrato*. But whatever the poet's intention is regarding an apology for courtly or romantic love—a point which I do not propose to argue here—earthly love is made to appear good, and it does not seem wrong for the characters to love as they do.

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of the earthly lovers is lessened by the emphasis that is given to the irresistibility of Love, to necessity, the Fates, Destiny and destinal forces such as the stars, Fortune, Nature, and Providence.⁸ The theory of universal and natural love gives a fair appearance to earthly love.⁹ The intermixing, confusing, and blending of earthly

8. Moral responsibility depends upon free-will, whose movement is necessary for moral action. See St. Augustine, *Retractionum Libri Duo*, lib. i, cap. xiii, n. 5, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1841), Vol. XXXII, Col. 603; Boece, V, Prosa 3, 167-205; Prosa 6, 320-347; St. Thomas, I-II, 1:1. Causes which, prior to an act, diminish the judgment of reason and the free movement of the will lessen the gravity of sin as they diminish voluntariness; if an act is involuntary in every respect, it lacks the principle of sin (I-II, 73:6).

On irresistible love—*Troilus* I, 237, 253, 353, 422-424, 603; II, 526, 651; III, 38, 989-990, 1744-1771; IV, 458, 675-677; V, 166-168, 1696-98. The power of Love is a commonplace derived from classical times. See Dodd, p. 17; Robinson, p. 926; Kirby, pp. 6 and 262.

On necessity—*Troilus* II, 623; IV, 958. On the Fates—III, 733-735; V, 3-7. On Destiny—I, 520; IV, 959. On the stars—II, 74, 680-686; III, 624-630, 715-717, 1202, 1257; IV, 745; V, 1699. On Nature—I, 237-239, 253, 977-987; II, 1874; III, 988-990, 1765-71; IV, 251. On Fortune—I, 837-853; II, 415; III, 617-623, 1667, 1714-15; IV, 1-11, 260, 323-326, 1189-90; V, 469, 1134, 1460, 1541-47, 1763-64. The fortune of love is discussed by Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 90-98.

On Providence—*Troilus* II, 527; III, 1290; IV, 958-1078, 1212, 1231-33; V, 1-2, 1445-1449, 1805-06. In a thorough and convincing discussion of the destinal forces in *Troilus*, Professor Curry, pp. 129-168, concludes that "Chaucer has linked his drama of human passions with the destinal power of the stars and of Nature, and has created his tragedy of human experiences against a mysterious background of divine foreordination." He believes that Troilus's "tragic fault lies in the fact that his passions leave him unable to exercise his free-will in transcending the destinal decrees promulgated by Nature and the stars." On the view that Troilus is "fated," see also Kittredge, pp. 112-117; Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer* (New York, 1906, 1922), pp. 117-125; Root, *Troilus*, p. xl ix; B. L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius* (Princeton, 1917), pp. 120-130; Robinson, p. 453; Kirby, pp. 262-264; Chute, pp. 180-181; Thomas, pp. 124-126. Tatlock, *The Mind and Art of Chaucer*, p. 40, discusses the necessity that history places on the story. Patch, *On Rereading Chaucer*, pp. 76, 79, 88, 104-122, would limit the determinism to "emphasis on the occasional futility (and not the unreality) of human will power in gaining material ends." Shanley, pp. 275-277, declares that Criseyde and Troilus "are free to choose what they wish, and as they choose they determine their lot." Both Mr. Patch and Mr. Shanley believe that the whole poem should be viewed in the light of the Epilogue, which condemns earthly love.

9. *Troilus* I, 237-238, 977-987; III, 1-49, 1261, 1744-71. For the theory of universal and natural love in *Troilus*, Chaucer has drawn largely upon Boccaccio and Boethius. See Robinson, pp. 924, 934, 939; R. R. Purdy, *The Platonic Tradition in Middle English Literature* (Nashville, 1949), p. 9. Other poets before Chaucer, including Jean de Meun in the *Roman de la Rose*, associated love and nature. See E. C. Knowlton, "The Goddess Nature in Early Periods," *JEGP*, XIX (1920), 224-253; "Natura in Earlier Italian," *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 329-334; "Nature in Middle English," *JEGP*, XX (1921), 186-207; "Nature in Old French," *MP* XX (1923), 309-329; Lewis, 87-111, 148-154; A. M. F. Gunn, *The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of "The Romance of the Rose"* (Lubbock, Texas, 1952), pp. 232-255, 396-405, 498-502.

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lovers' emotions, moral standards, and ecclesiastical forms with those of Christian religion produce a kind of specious reconciliation.¹⁰

Among the ecclesiastical forms imitated by the religion of Love in *Troilus*, Christian grace, with its associated concepts, not only contributes to the justification of earthly love but provides a means of motivating the internal action of Troilus and, to a less extent, Criseyde.¹¹

Grace is defined as unmerited favor, mercy, undue liberality, something which man cannot merit in himself; for though God grants grace, nothing appears in man except sin, corruption, and misery. Some graces, which are called free gifts, are external and in the natural order. These include (1) purely natural gifts such as health and robustness of body, maturity of judgment, activity and sharpness of intelligence, prudence, and temperance, which are common to unbelievers and Christians, good and evil; (2)

Natural love, unless the grace of God is added to it, contains the evil effect of the original sin. The best (or worst) it alone can do is to make earthly love appear reconcilable to God and to reduce the voluntariness, and therefore the guilt, of love. See Slaughter, pp. 10-16.

10. *Troilus* I. 15-51, 185-322, 370, 422-434, 458-462, 533-539, 605-606, 779-781, 813-819, 895-896, 906, 910, 932-1008, 1047-85; II. 522-539, 660-679, 704-706, 827-875, 885-903, 971-973, 1272-74, 1317-19, 1526; III. 12-14, 24-28, 48-49, 185-189, 436-441, 460-462, 468-490, 705-735, 922-931, 951, 966, 1016-22, 1058-59, 1148, 1185-87, 1202-04, 1215-25, 1254-74, 1282-1309, 1322-23, 1349, 1506-12, 1526, 1552, 1579, 1650-59, 1672, 1725, 1744-1820; IV. 288-329, 437-440, 501-518, 738, 785-791, 899-907, 958-1078, 1079-82, 1149-50, 1175-76, 1189-90, 1191-1204, 1212, 1231-33, 1600, 1654-87; V. 143, 166-168, 227, 502-504, 582-602, 918-1099, 1410-21, 1587-88, 1695-1708. On extensions and parodies of the Christian religion, mutual borrowing by each kind of love, symbolic parallel, blending of standards, ennobling effect of earthly love, shifting meaning of "love," see W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. VI (Boston, 1899), pp. 33, 48, 136-137, 220-227; Dodd, pp. 189-208; Root, *Troilus*, pp. 410, 443, 484-485; J. Audiau, *Les Troubadours et l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1927), p. 33; Robinson, pp. 925, 934; Lewis, pp. 18-22, 37-43, 172, 223-225; Kirby, pp. 7, 19, 26, 101, 141-142, 211, 249, 252-256, 279; Slaughter, p. 19; Denomy, "The Two Moralities of Chaucer's *Troilus* and *Criseyde*," pp. 36-40, and "Jois Among the Early Troubadours: Its Meaning and Possible Source," *Mediaeval Studies*, XIII (1951), 177-217.
11. Denomy, "The Two Moralities of Chaucer's *Troilus* and *Criseyde*," p. 39, remarks that Chaucer seems to have linked Fortune and love "as the *deus ex machina* of his romance: joining the inner necessity of love to the exterior necessity of Fortune." In his "Jois Among the Early Troubadours," p. 217, he concludes: "To speak in the language of the later scholastics, one might say that joy is to Courly Love in the natural order as grace is to charity in the supernatural order." In *Troilus* the doctrine of Love's grace in the lover is explicit. Besides "grace," words for it may be "gladness" (I. 22), "joy" (III. 356, 1693), and "bliss" (I. 623; III. 342).

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God's gifts set outside man, such as the incarnation and death of Christ, holy services, counsels, and miracles; (3) gifts for the enlightenment and conversion of unbelievers and sinners, such as tongues, prophecy, miracles, interpretation of Scriptures, and divine words to be announced. Other graces are internal and in the supernatural order. They are no less freely given than the free gifts, since all graces to every one proceed from God's pure benevolence and generosity without any natural merits. Sanctifying graces are granted by God in the course of men's salvation, such as pious desires, virtues, holy aspirations by which men are moved and drawn to those things that are God's—the gift of faith, hope, charity, and the moral virtues. They are for the purpose of reconciling men with God, and of making righteous men of sinners.¹²

St. Thomas Aquinas, in his treatment of the virtues and the need, essence, divisions, causes, and effects of grace, declares that man in a state of corrupt nature needs grace. It is true that human understanding has a form or intelligible light which is sufficient in itself for knowing what can be known through the senses. (I-II. 109:1.) The virtues, moreover, that are directed to a good defined in accordance with the rule of human reason can be caused by habit, but virtues directing man to a good defined according to divine law are caused by divine operation alone. In addition to intellectual and moral virtues that arise from natural principles, the theological virtues—faith, hope, and charity—with moral virtues proportionate to them are infused immediately from God. (I-II. 62:1; 63:1-3; 65:2-3.) Without grace, indeed, man is unable to know, wish, or do supernatural good: to love God above all things, fulfill the Commandments, avoid or arise from sin, or merit everlasting life. He cannot prepare himself for grace except by the gratuitous help of God moving him inwardly. If he already possesses grace, he needs further help of grace to do good, avoid sin, and persevere. (I-II. 109:1-10.)

12. "Index de Gratia," *Indices, Generales simul et Speciales*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1863), Vol. 219, Col. 803, 804, 806. For an excellent summary of grace and charity drawn from St. Augustine, see Denomy, "Jois Among the Early Troubadours," pp. 209-215.

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In its essence, grace is (1) one's favor bestowed for love, (2) a freely bestowed gift, (3) gratitude for the gift. In the first, the grace of God and the grace of man differ; in the second and third, grace implies something in the receiver. Grace is a movement and quality of the soul, and is in the essence of the soul as in a subject; for grace is not a virtue, but is prior to virtue. (I-II. 110:1-4.)

Grace is divided into sanctifying grace, by which man himself is united to God; and gratuitous grace, by which one man co-operates with another in leading him to God. It is also divided into operating and co-operating grace, and into prevenient and subsequent grace, according as a grace causes an effect prior or posterior to another. Gratuitous grace is divided into faith, wisdom, knowledge, healing, working of miracles, prophecy, discerning spirits, kinds of tongues, interpretation of speeches. Sanctifying grace is nobler than gratuitous grace. (I-II. 111:1-5.)

The cause of grace is God alone. For habitual grace a preparation and disposition is required on man's part, but not for the help from God who moves the soul to good. Grace is not necessarily given to whoever prepares himself for it, yet if God, the Mover, intends that the one whose heart He moves should attain to grace, he will infallibly attain to it. Sanctifying grace is more or less in different men, but not in God. By revelation and conjecturally by signs, man can know that he has sanctifying grace, but he cannot know of himself. (I-II. 112:1-5.) Grace is the principal effect of the sacraments of the New Law, which are instituted by God to be used in conferring grace, and contain a kind of instrumental power transient and incomplete in its natural being. Sacramental grace confers something in addition to the grace of the virtues and gifts. (III. 62:1-4.)

As to the effects of operating grace, when a man is changed from a condition in which the inferior powers are not ordered to reason into a condition of just order, the change is called justification of the ungodly by remission of sins. Infusion of grace is required for the remission of guilt, which is called the justification of the ungodly. Though a movement of the free-will is required,

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God so infuses the gift of justifying grace that at the same time He moves the free-will to accept the gift of grace, in such as are capable of being thus moved. The free-will must tend to God's justice and hate sin. A movement of faith is also required. The infusion of grace by which the justification is wrought takes place in an instant, and not successively; but in the order of nature the four things required for justification of the ungodly are arranged as follows: (1) infusion of grace, (2) free-will's movement toward God, (3) free-will's movement toward sin, (4) the remission of sin. Justification of the ungodly is miraculous in the sense that anything performed only by God's power is miraculous. It is not miraculous in the sense that the form introduced is beyond the natural power of the matter. It is sometimes miraculous, sometimes not, in the sense that something is found besides the usual and customary order of causing an effect. (I-II. 113:1-8, and 10.)

As to the effects of co-operating grace, since there is infinite inequality between God and man, justice in their relations can exist only relatively, and not simply. Hence the character of merit and reward is relative. Yet on account of his free-will, which God ordained, man can merit something from God. Neither in a state of perfect nature nor in a state of corrupt nature can man merit eternal life without a supernatural gift—grace. As it proceeds from free-will, man's meritorious work cannot merit everlasting life condignly, but congruously, because of the very great inequality. But as it proceeds from the grace of the Holy Ghost, a work can be meritorious of everlasting life condignly. The merit of eternal life rests chiefly with charity rather than with the other virtues. No one may merit for himself the first grace, yet a man can merit congruously the first grace for another. After a fall, no man can merit for himself restoration, either condignly or congruously. The increase of grace falls under condign merit. The perseverance of glory falls under merit, but the perseverance of the wayfarer does not. The good of perseverance is a freely bestowed gift of God. What pertains to man's last end—everlasting life—falls simply under merit. Temporal goods that are needed for

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salvation after grace fall simply under merit. But temporal goods that pertain to man now fall under merit relatively. (I-II. 114:1-10.)

Now to see how this doctrine applies to the internal action of the earthly lovers Troilus and Criseyde—with a word first about Pandarus.¹³ In terms of grace, Pandarus seems to be a kind of priest of Love, an implement of gratuitous grace, by which one man co-operates with another in leading him to god.¹⁴ Who would deny that in Love Pandarus encompasses faith, wisdom, knowledge, healing, working of miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, kinds of tongues, and interpretation of speeches? He hears Troilus's confession¹⁵ with a kind of absolution (I. 939-945), and exhorts good perseverance (I. 958). He is also instrumental in converting Criseyde to Love, and arranges for the confirmation of Troilus in grace.¹⁶

The beginning of the poem, which is full of ecclesiastical ideas,¹⁷ prepares for the hero's first sorrow. Troilus's falling in love is presented largely in terms of a conversion to the religion of Love—which implies the operation of sanctifying grace. Pandarus so interprets it. He recalls that the greatest sinners, after they have been converted through the grace of God who pleases to draw them to Him, are the strongest in the Faith. He believes, therefore, that since Love, of his goodness, has converted Troilus out of wickedness, he will be the best of Love's followers. (I. 998-1008.)

13. In *Troilus*, besides naming the sanctifying grace of God (I. 1005) and the sanctifying grace of the god of Love (I. 933; III. 1267; IV. 293), the word "grace" means "free gift" of God (III. 928) and "favor" of God (II. 243), of a god or astrological influence (III. 719; IV. 952, 1117, 1233, 1684; V. 957), of Love (I. 42, 781, 896, 907, 933, 962; II. 831, 973, 1526; III. 461, 705, 1262, 1267; IV. 293; V. 592), of Love and God confused (I. 896, 907; III. 1349, 1456; V. 502, 1631), of fortune (I. 713; II. 266; IV. 263; V. 172, 1702), of man for man (I. 1077; II. 714; IV. 103, 555, 1393; V. 694), and of a lady for a lover (I. 370, 781, 962, 980, 1063; II. 32, 1070, 1122, 1365, 1526; III. 472, 922; IV. 10, 1698; V. 171, 581, 940, 1323). In these passages, a lady's favor for a lover reflects the feudalization of love.

14. A better interpretation, I believe, is that he is a friend and implement of gratuitous grace. See my "Chaucer's Pandarus: Virtuous Uncle and Friend," *JEGP*, XLVIII (1949), 186-195.

15. I. 568-938; cf. II. 523-532. Confession is a part of the sacrament of penance. See Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, lines 108, 316; also St. Thomas, Suppl. 6-11. Grace is the principal effect of the sacraments.

16. On Criseyde—II and III, *passim*; see her remark. IV. 832-833. On confirmation—II. 1526. Confirmation is a sacrament; see St. Thomas, III. 72.

17. I. 1-51. See Dodd, pp. 191-196.

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Troilus appears as an unbeliever (I. 187), as guilty of presumption (I. 213, 225, 230), in the religion of Love. If a parody or extension of Christian doctrine can be understood here, this presumption, arising directly from pride, is an inordinate trust in divine mercy or power, the hope of obtaining glory without merit or pardon without repentance. It is conformed to a false intellect. It is contrary to the virtues of hope and charity and the sin of despair. It is the sin against the Holy Ghost, because by it a man despises the Spirit which might withdraw him from sin.¹⁸ Moreover, since Troilus is a man of great worthiness—second only to Hector—¹⁹ there may be a question also of the presumption that is opposed to magnanimity. Now, magnanimity concerns honor and the achievement of great things by a man of great capacities. When a man assumes to do what is above his power, he is guilty of presumption.²⁰ Whichever kind of presumption Troilus commits when he scorns Love and lovers (I. 194-205), he avoids it after his conversion (I. 1076-85; III. 1716-25).

In accordance with the doctrine of grace, Troilus's free-will is moved in an instant, although he thought nothing could stir his heart against his will.²¹ As he ponders his conversion, he seems to relate it very soon to the just Providence of the god of Love (confused with God), by which the god, according to his disposition, leads every man to the end.²² Now, as St. Thomas reasons, there can be no infusion of grace without an actual movement of the free-will toward God and against sin (III. 87:2). But no matter how perfect a corporeal or spiritual nature is, it cannot act unless

18. St. Thomas, II-II.21:1-4; 130:2 *ad 1*; see also *Parson's Tale*, lines 1057, 1065-69.

19. Worthiness—I. 567; II. 161, 704, 841; III. 1550; V. 717, 1829. Next to Hector—II. 158, 171, 740; III. 1775; V. 1565, 1804.

20. On magnanimity—St. Thomas, II-II. 129:1-4. On presumption—St. Thomas, II-II. 130:1. Pusillanimity is a sin that makes a man fall short of what he is capable of doing, whereas presumption causes him to exceed his capacities. As they relate to a man's own ability, these sins, which oppose each other, are both contrary to the virtue of magnanimity. (II-II. 130:1-2; 133:1-2.) Pandarus attempts to arouse Troilus by accusing him of pusillanimity, which Troilus denies (I. 554-576).

21. I. 227-231, 306-308. Besides a deification and religion of Love, these passages employ a natural theory of love (I. 238), feudal notions, and the psychology of love.

22. II. 526-527. Cf. *Boece* IV, Prosa 6, 51-120. See Curry, p. 139. Kirby, pp. 262-264, believes that the whole concept of courtly love is entirely foreign to the idea of free-will.

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it is moved by God, although this motion is according to His Providence, and not by a necessity of nature. The act of the intellect depends upon God, in that it has from Him the form whereby it acts, and in that it is moved by Him to act. Although natural knowledge may suffice in a sense, God at times instructs some by His grace in things that can be known by natural reason. (I-II. 109:1). A man, moreover, is master of his acts, and his willing and not willing, on account of the deliberation of reason, which can be bent to one side or another. Whether he is master of his deliberating or not deliberating depends upon a preceding deliberation. Since this may not go on to infinity, it must come finally to this, that a man's free-will is moved by an exterior principle which is above the human mind, and that is God. (I-II. 109:2 *ad 1.*)

The providential change that occurs in Troilus when he is converted to Love is good, because God cannot cause sin.²³ Immediately after the conversion, indeed, the reader is assured that Love is ennobling, even for the strongest and worthiest folk. Since it cannot be withheld, and is naturally so virtuous, a man ought to follow it freely.²⁴ And Troilus does. With Love's grace in him, he begins to repent of his old life.²⁵ Then follows a short struggle within him: he considers the sorrows and unrewarded service of lovers (I. 330-350), and questions the reality of Love (I. 400-405). But this is only a process of consent. Gratefully, he chooses Love who has brought him to this condition (I. 422-424). He undertakes humble service and strives to merit bliss (I. 430-431). In the rest of the story, he perseveres,²⁶ and grows in grace, love, and virtue. At times, he has a heart full of joy (III. 356-357, 1693); he realizes that Love's grace surpasses human deserts (III. 1267); he feels a

23. St. Thomas, I-II. 79:1; *Boece* III, Prosa 10, 43-68.

24. *Troilus* I. 239-256. Cf. *Boece* I, Prosa 5, 26-28: "it is a sovereyn fredom to ben governed by the brydel of him and obeye to his justice."

25. I. 318; cf. I. 932-938; II. 523-532. This is contrition, a part of the sacrament of penance; see St. Thomas, Suppl. 1-5; *Parson's Tale*, lines 129-283.

26. Perseverance is both the infused virtue of habitual grace and the gratuitous help of God that sustains a man in good. It is necessary because the free-will continues to be changeable and, even though repaired by grace, is unable to remain unchangeably good. (St. Thomas, II-II. 137:4.) See *Parson's Tale*, lines 1070-1075; Dodd, p. 195.

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new quality (III. 1654). On account of Love and Love's grace, he avoids sins and increases in virtue (I. 481, 1072-85; III. 1776-1806). In spite of the sorrows he suffers—including Criseyde's infidelity—his will is steadfast in loving, and his love immortal (IV. 288-329). He cannot cease loving Criseyde, but if he could, he would not (IV. 458-459; V. 1696-98). He wills to live and die in Love's Belief (V. 593).

Criseyde is also "converted" to Love, though she deliberates longer than Troilus. Her conversion, which is recounted in terms of the psychology rather than the religion of Love,²⁷ cannot be described as sudden, because courtly love convention requires that the lady's love be earned by process and good service.²⁸ But she is moved in an instant to incline to love (II. 651, 674-675). After considering the objections to loving (II. 750-805), she is impressed by Antigone's song (II. 850-854) and becomes susceptible to conversion (II. 903). Later, she thanks God for his grace which brought her and Troilus together (III. 1347-50; cf. 1552). Criseyde seems to have as much free-will as the Christian doctrine provides. She accepts Troilus voluntarily at Deiphobus's (III. 180-192, 780-781) and at Pandarus's (III. 870, 991-994, 1210-11). She feels that no one can or ought to resist Love (III. 988-990). She wishes to love Troilus as long as she lives (IV. 675-677, 1420, 1680). Her inclination to Diomedes is motivated not by Love's grace, but by the practical considerations of Diomedes's power, the peril of Troy, and her own helplessness.²⁹

The Christian doctrine concerning grace and merit which has been outlined in a preceding paragraph is also imitated by the religion of Love, yet the feudal notion of reward is intermixed with it considerably. Instead of the everlasting glory of God, the reward is the favor of Love and the lady. Good works equal

27. Destinal forces—the influence of heavenly bodies—are also introduced, II. 680-686. See Curry, pp. 140-141.

28. *Troilus* II. 667-679. On the need of long service, see Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. E. Trojel (Copenhagen, 1892), I, vi, G, p. 201; also Dodd, pp. 131, 169; Kirby, p. 198. The virtues of the lover and pity for him moves Criseyde (II. 660-665; IV. 1667-82).

29. V. 1025-29. See Kirby, p. 229. Diomedes declares that Trojan and Greek serve the same god of love, whom he cannot oppose, but will obey (V. 143, 166-168).

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humble service. In *Troilus and Criseyde* it is clear that a lover's good perseverance is from the god of Love (I. 44-46). Troilus willingly undertakes to serve Criseyde as the god requires (I. 426). He feels that unless Love's grace surpassed a lover's deserts, and Love out of his bountiful goodness gave him aid, even his best service and greatest works as a lover would be lost (III. 1264-67); his experience proves it so (III. 1282-85). Troilus (I. 334-335, 622-623), Criseyde (II. 607-609), and Pandarus (II. 57-63, 1107; III. 343) know that the very great inequality between a man and Love—due partly to the religion of Love and partly to feudal implications—permits scorn in return for a lover's good service. The god of Love may punish unbelievers in his Faith (I. 207), as Pandarus and Troilus realize.³⁰ Troilus believes that the god of Love may reward him for good service (I. 430-431). He declares that God disposes things according to merit (IV. 964-965); God ought to further truth and punish wrongs, though His vengeance on Diomede is not forthcoming (V. 1706-1708). He believes also that Criseyde may reward him for Love's service.³¹ Pandarus tells Troilus that service in love is itself a reward (I. 817-821).

A concept that is related to grace is despair. Now, as St. Thomas explains, despair and its contrary, hope, are passions in the irascible faculty of the sensitive appetite. Their object is an arduous and difficult good for which there is a presupposed desire. Whereas hope regards a good as obtainable and is an approach to the object, despair implies not only privation of hope, but a withdrawal from the thing desired because it is judged to be impossible to obtain.³² Like other passions, as long as hope and despair are only movements of the irrational appetite, they contain neither good nor evil; but if they are considered as subject to the command of reason and will, they are good or evil (I-II. 24:1).

On the moral level, hope and despair regard God as their ob-

30. I. 906-938; II. 523-525; V. 598-590. A lady's right to punish a lover for a wrong seems to be based on feudal relations: III. 1301; V. 1257, 1684-86, 1720-22.

31. III. 440-441, 1776-78. The lady rewards with the god of Love's approval or because of feudal associations. Criseyde recognizes her right: II. 704-706; III. 174-175, 182, 991-994; IV. 1672-80.

32. I-II. 40:1, 4, 4 *ad 3*. Fear is contrary to hope because their objects, good and evil, are contrary. I-II. 40:4 *ad 1*.

ject, and they are not in the irascible faculty, but in the will (II-II. 18:1). Hope is then a theological virtue, infused in man by God alone, for the purpose of directing the will to its supernatural good as something attainable (I-II. 62:1, 3). Contrary to hope, despair is a sin that consists in a movement of the will in conformity to the false opinion that God refuses pardon to penitent sinners or that He does not convert sinners by sanctifying grace. Since man in despair sinks in sin and withdraws from good works, despair is the greatest of the sins. It can be in a man who believes in God.³³ Still on the moral level, despair is sometimes not a sin: as when a wayfarer despairs of something which he is not due or born to attain; as though a physician should despair of curing a sick man, or any one should despair of becoming rich (II-II. 20:1 *ad 3*).

In *Troilus* despair and hope are largely the lover's passions³⁴ in which there is no moral good or evil, but in two passages—and possibly a third—despair is a sin in the religion of Love. Chaucer bids happy lovers to pray for those who have despaired of Love's grace and will never be recovered in love (I. 36-42). Possibly Pandarus has the sin of despair in mind when he admonishes Troilus to be ever fresh in serving his lady (I. 813-819). Most explicit and clear is Troilus's speech to the god of Love, as Pandarus reports it to Criseyde. Troilus prays that the god will shield him from despair which may separate his spirit from Love.³⁵

Troilus's prayer is answered; he is not guilty of the sin of despair in the religion of Love. He does not despair of Love in the sense that he believes Love refuses to convert sinners by grace or to pardon them when penitent—or in the sense that there is a movement of his will in conformity to such a false opinion. Near the end of the poem, in an address to Love which opens with Cupid

33. II-II. 20:1-3. On despair, see also *Parson's Tale*, lines 693-704, 1057-1075.

34. The passion of despair in love is suffered by Troilus: I. 605, 779; II. 6, 1307; IV. 954; V. 227, 296, 318, 559, 1198, 1442, 1569, 1672, 1718; by Criseyde: V. 713. The passion of hope in love is suffered by Troilus: II. 7, 1307, 1323, 1329, 1333, 1340; III. 426; IV. 1430; V. 630, 685, 1195, 1207, 1398, 1400, 1438; by Criseyde: II. 808; V. 913. Hope may be a virtue in love: I. 391, 971; V. 348. Hope and despair, to be sure, are conventional in courtly love poetry.

35. II. 530-532. On despair as a sin in *Troilus* I. 36-42 and II. 530, see Dodd, pp. 195, 197; Robinson, p. 925.

a feudal lord but changes the figure to "myghty god,"³⁶ Troilus declares he has felt the god's dreadful vengeance, but he will live and die in Love's Belief. At this time Troilus has hope: he prays for the god's mercy and favor in the return of Criseyde (V. 582-595). When he knows finally of Criseyde's infidelity, he does not despair of God (or the god of Love), though he asks why God does not avenge his wrong (V. 1655-1745). Also, Troilus does not despair of Love in the sense that he stops loving Criseyde. When his heart dies, his spirit will alway serve her (IV. 319-322). He would not cease loving her if he could; his soul will never part from hers (IV. 458-459, 470-473). Death shall not divide him from her (IV. 1197). Although he knows her to be unfaithful, he cannot unlove her a quarter of a day (V. 1696-98).

Troilus's despair is the passion which arises when a desired good is impossible to obtain. The good is Criseyde; witness most of the poem. The impossibility arises momentarily, and from time to time, until in the end it is fixed. For a while, because of Troilus's worthiness, the aid of his friend Pandarus, the grace of Love, and the influence of destinal forces, the impossibility is removed as it arises, and the good is obtainable—and obtained. Then Criseyde is exchanged for Antenor, leaves Troilus for the Greek camp, does not return as she has promised to do, and is at length unfaithful in love. The object is finally impossible to obtain. The moments of despair which occur frequently throughout the poem are only movements of the irrational appetite, and, on this account, contain neither good nor evil. The despair at the last is no more a sin than when a physician despairs of curing a sick man.³⁷

36. Love is a lord but not a god in *Il Filostrato* V. 56-57. I use the translation with parallel text by N. E. Griffin and A. B. Myrick (Philadelphia, 1929).

37. Assuming that Love is a supernatural good: If any wrong or fault exists, it relates to Criseyde's departure from Troy. Also, if the causes of her going are external, or beyond the control of Troilus, there is no tragic fault. And such seems to be the case. External forces result in the agreement to exchange Criseyde for Antenor (IV. 29-217; Curry, p. 147). At the meeting of parliament and afterward, the actions open to Troilus which might keep Criseyde with him are either immoral or impossible (IV. 159, 547-568, 1297-98, 1571-73); therefore he can hardly be said to have a choice, since choice is only of possible things (St. Thomas, I-II, 13:5). He decides, indeed, that he has none, and so rationalizes his decision in the temple scene concerning Providence (IV. 958-1078; Curry, pp. 153-155; Patch, *On Rereading Chaucer*, p. 113). Later, he submits to Criseyde's plan for her to go and return (IV. 1699-1701). What happens to her after that is unquestionably beyond his power.

In *Troilus and Criseyde* the doctrine of Christian grace is imitated by the religion of Love to help motivate the internal action. Pandarus appears as an implement of gratuitous grace. Troilus, an unbeliever guilty of presumption, is converted to Love by the operation of sanctifying grace, in accordance with the plan of Providence. Unable to resist, he wills to love, repents of his old life, grows in virtue, and perseveres in Love's service to the end. Though convention requires deliberate process, Criseyde is also a willing convert to Love, whom no one can resist. Both Troilus and Criseyde, it should be observed, follow Love willingly and by choice, although they are moved irresistibly. Their internal action, as it is motivated by the notions of love, grace, and free-will, consists largely in choosing to obey and serve Love, who is god, and therefore cannot cause sin. Their action seems sufficiently free to preserve their moral responsibility, but Love and destinal forces operate so strongly that the internal as well as the external action is dominated by divine fore-ordination. The doctrine of grace and merit in Love is employed intermixed with feudal concepts. Because of the great inequality between a man and the god of Love, Troilus may merit reward and punishment only in a relative sense. For good works he is rewarded, but he also suffers. Unless Love's grace surpassed Troilus's deserts, his best service would be lost. Despair, which is of interest because it has a recognized relation to grace, is in Troilus as a passion, but not as a sin.

The imitation of Christian grace and its associated notions contributes much to the extenuation of earthly love in *Troilus*. Love is god, who causes good but cannot cause sin. Since he is irresistible in moving Troilus's will by grace, Troilus's love appears to be good, and the results of it are increased virtue. The effect is a tone of religious love and devotion that infuses Troilus's endeavor and excites in the reader a serious concern for the hero's high purpose in love. Now, of course, this is specious. And irony, which varies in intensity from one passage to another, attaches to the god of Love and his power. Dispraise and the sorrows of love appear frequently. The epilogue condemns worldly vanity. But the ap-

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parent justification of earthly love by several means—among them the doctrine of grace—gives consequence to the action of Troilus and Criseyde, which from the point of view of the epilogue is insignificant. The prologue, therefore, heavy with ecclesiastical figures, is the best approach to the poem. There, by an intermixing and blending of emotions and standards, and a fusion of religious forms, Chaucer presents earthly love as though it were reconciled to God. Humbly resigned to his own unfitness for love, he proposes as the servant of Love's servant to tell Troilus's sorrow in order to help some lover's cause. He conducts the bidding prayer for lovers. Finally, he hopes to advance his soul best by praying for Love's servants, writing their woe, and living in charity. From this point of view he goes straight to his matter of Troilus in loving of Criseyde.

V

Narrator's Points of View in the Portrait-sketches, Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*

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THE CHIEF formal device used by Chaucer in constructing the portrait-sketches of the Pilgrims in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* may be defined in terms of point of view. The first-person Narrator shifts freely and variously from a strictly limited point of view of personal observation and deduction therefrom to one of omniscience. It is the purpose of this paper to examine Chaucer's use of this device for creating in the successive portraits a group of fourteenth-century folk whom generations of readers have found to be real, three-dimensional human beings, integral in the dramatic situation, and manifesting to a remarkable degree the complex nature of actuality.

The first section analyzes the sketches of the Knight, the Squire, the Yeoman, and the Prioress in order to establish Chaucer's employment of the device and to indicate some of the ways in which and purposes for which he used it. The second section examines an anterior use of the device, one which was undoubtedly of great influence on Chaucer, that by de Lorris in depicting the two groups of allegorical figures in the opening movements of the *Roman de la Rose*. Comparison will indicate some of the ways in which Chaucer adapted the device to the purposes not of allegory but of realism. The third section considers an important extension of the device which Chaucer employed in depicting three of the pilgrims. The fourth section discusses uses of the device in other portrait-sketches and concludes with a brief statement of what the study reveals as to the true nature of Chaucer's originality in his depiction of the Canterbury pilgrims.

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I

After a half-line of limited placing ("A Knight there was," l. 43)¹ the description of the Knight continues for thirty lines almost altogether from the Narrator's omniscient point of view. All his active life the Knight has loved chivalry and the chivalric virtues; no knight has ridden farther nor more worthily in his lord's wars, in both Christian and pagan lands. These summary statements are particularized, omnisciently, by precise references: he had participated in the taking of Alexandria, begun the board in Prussia, fought in *fifteen* mortal battles, slain his foe *three* several times "In lystes," etc. (l. 51-64). The first half of line 65 brings the focus sharply back to the limited position: "This ilke worthy knyght"; then two more lines of precise omniscience ("in Turkye") are followed by an omniscient generalization: "And evermoore he hadde a sovereyn prys" (l. 67). The next five lines form a bridge of transition from the omniscient to the completely limited, the second ("And of his port as meeke as is a mayde") appearing the result of observation and the fifth ("He was a verray parfit gentil knight") reporting the Narrator's own conclusion regarding the knight's character.

The last six lines (one-sixth of the whole) are strictly limited to the Narrator's point of view in the dramatic situation. They are devoted to the Narrator's observation of the knight's "array" and his conclusion regarding the knight's immediate situation:

.... late ycome from his viage,
And wente for to doon his pilgrimage (l. 77-8).

Their effect is to give the knight a local situation in the immediate dramatic context, to place him in motion as regards his immediate future, to make him dramatically real; just as the earlier and more extended part of the portrait had provided him with a past.

In the portrait of the Squire the management of points of view is quite different. The Narrator's limited observation begins the description and is in control except for two short passages of

1. Chaucer's *Complete Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1933), p. 19.

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omniscience (11. 85-88, 95-8). The opening phrase ("With hym," l. 79) places the young man in the dramatic situation both generally, on the pilgrimage, and specifically, accompanying his father-knight. Line 80, "A lovyere and a lusty bacheler," reports the conclusion of the Narrator's observation and prepares for the particulars of observation which led the Narrator to that conclusion: his curly hair, and fine, agile figure; his age (which the Narrator makes vivid by guessing, l. 82); his fancy cloak; his habit, which the Narrator has also observed, of "Syngynge . . . , or flotynge, all the day" (l. 91); his equestrianship. Line 80 also sets the stage for the two omniscient passages, brings them, so to speak, within the immediate dramatic framework. The first (11. 85-8) recounts his chivalric activities, in which he had borne himself well "In hope to stonden in his lady grace"; the second (11. 95-8) lists genteel accomplishments proper to youth's springtime when

So hoote he lovede that by nyghtertale
He sleep namoore than dooth a nyghtyngale.

The last two lines of the portrait focus sharply back on the immediate imagined situation, supper at the Tabard, and as sharply etch another facet to the young squire's personality:

Curteis he was, lowely, and servysable,
And carf biforn his fader at the table.

The sketch of the *Yeman* emphasizes externals.² A recent commentator has remarked that it has "the colour and definition of a manuscript miniature."³ The two-dimensional painting is given some realistic depth, however, by the omniscient line, the only one in this portrait, "Of woodecraft wel koude he al the usage" (l. 110), as well as by lines 105-6, which from the Narrator's point of view are more than description; they express the Narrator's conclusion regarding the moral character of the Yeoman:

Wel koude he dresse his takel yemanly:
His arwes drouped noght with fetheres lowe.

2. Cf. W. W. Lawrence, *Chaucer and the Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1950), p. 53.

3. Raymond Preston, *Chaucer* (London and New York, 1952), p. 156.

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The sharp realism of "A not heed hadde he, with a broun visage" (l. 109) has been frequently commented on, while the last line of the sketch with its intrusion of the Narrator *in propria persona* ("A forster was he, soothly, *as I gesse*," l. 117) completes the identification of the Yeoman in the dramatic situation which had been announced in the opening lines:

A yeman hadde he [the knight] and servantz namo.
At that tyme . . . (l. 101-2).

This is a particular yeoman accompanying a particular knight on a particular pilgrimage.

With the "Ther was" formula ⁴ the *Prioresse* is introduced, from the Narrator's vantage point of observation, smiling "feel symple and coy" (l. 119). Immediately her delicately gentle affability is reinforced by the omniscient line concerning her oaths; then follows the limited reporting of her romantic name, "Madame Eglentyne." Two lines from the omniscient point of view serve properly to orient her charm: she is a conventional and sings the divine service "ful semely." ⁵ But both sides of her incompletely fused personality have been suggested: "the hovering of the worthy lady's spirit between 'love celestiall' and 'chere of court,'" ⁶ and most of the remainder of her sketch, which develops this theme, is presented from the Narrator's limited point of view. He hears her speak French, and comments with delicate irony on her accent. He observes her table manners, at supper at the Tabard, one supposes, and fulsomely describes them (l. 127-36) with the generalizing conclusion that "In curteisie was set ful muchel her

4. This, with slight variation, is used to introduce sixteen of the twenty-one individual sketches in l. 43-714.

5. Sister Madeleva shows that no nun of the 14th century would sing the divine service on a pilgrimage, only in her convent. *Chaucer's Nun and Other Essays*. (New York, 1925), pp. 10-12.

6. J. L. Lowes, "Simple and Coy," *Anglia*, XXXIII (1910), 440. All recent commentators, so far as I know, with the exception of Sister Madeleva, cited above, accept and elaborate upon Lowes' conception of the Prioress' character. Two of them, both women, are harder on Madame Eglantine—both stressing her worldliness—than are the men. Eileen Power's essay in *Medieval People*, 1924 (8th ed., London, 1941, pp. 59-84) and Muriel Bowden's strictures in her *Commentary on the General Prologue* (New York, 1949), esp. pp. 99-100, need to be balanced by the penetrating remarks on Chaucer's sketch in Raymond Preston's *Chaucer*, pp. 156-160.

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lest" (l. 132). He observes that she is "of greet despert" (amusement), pleasant and amiable; and also that she "peyne[s] hire" to imitate courtly manners and to be considered "digne of reverence."⁷ Then on the other hand the Narrator speaks of "hire conscience" and "tendre herte," illustrating by her reaction at seeing a trapped mouse "deed or bledde" and her care and feeding of her "smale houndes" (ll. 142-149). Are these details given from a limited or an omniscient point of view? A mousetrap would surely be no strange feature in a fourteenth century inn; but none of Miss Power's evidence⁸ sanctions the conclusions that a traveling nun would take her pets along with her on a pilgrimage, and the cast of the entire passage seems to me omniscient rather than limited in its point of view, especially the line:

But soore wepte she, if oon of hem were deed.

Having demonstrated, though not without a touch of irony, that the Prioress' tender heart is moved, even by suffering mice and dogs,⁹ the Narrator proceeds, from this limited point of view ("I trowe," l. 155; "as I was war," l. 157) to describe her seemly and handsome attire, her stately figure (a bit on the stylish stout side perhaps: "hardily . . . nat undergrowe"), and conventionally beautiful face with its broad forehead (which modern commentators, not he, opine was not decently covered by her veil), and her elaborate rosary with its contrived medallion—itself an epitome of the two motifs of the Prioress' personality. Obviously the Narrator was charmed by her, and so are we. No allegory she, but a delightfully enigmatic woman.

7. Miss Power shows (*Medieval English Nunneries*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1922, pp. 4-14) that by the 14th century nuns were drawn not only from the nobility but frequently from the *haute bourgeoisie*. The gently ironic tone of lines 137-141 ("sikerly . . . peyned hire to countrefete . . . to ben holden digne of reverence") suggest, I think, that the Prioress is a daughter of the latter class.

8. *Med. People*, pp. 305-309. Miss Power assumes, however, that the dogs were with her.

9. I prefer *even* here to Miss Power's and Miss Bowden's *only!* A bit of 20th century anti-anti-Semitism seems to color Miss Bowden's view of this 14th century lady. (*Op. cit.*, p. 100.)

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II

And yet, if we are to believe the convincing argument of a recent study of the Prologue, we shall have to conclude that the methodology of presenting the group of portraiture, as a series of personality sketches given in succession, was suggested to Chaucer by the two groups of allegorical figures depicted by Guillaume de Lorris near the beginning of the *Roman de la Rose*.¹⁰ The first is a series of allegorical images of vices and evil moral or physical conditions (*Envye, Povert, Elde*, etc.) painted on the wall outside the garden of the Rose; the other, a group of allegorical youths and maidens representing virtues and various pleasing moral, spiritual, and physical conditions (*Myrthe, Largesse, Fraunchise*, etc.), who are seen dancing and singing within the garden.¹¹

10. J. W. Cunningham, "The Literary Form of the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*," *MP*, XLIX (1952), 172-181, has effectively demonstrated that the formal elements of the Prologue derive from the dream-vision type of poem, of which the *Roman* is both prototype and fullest exemplar. In a brief comparison of Chaucer's portraits with the two groups near the beginning of the *Roman* he states the following points (pp. 180-1): 1. In both poems the portraits are given in succession with little or no transition. 2. The portraits vary in length but are roughly of the same range. 3. Chaucer's group and the second group in *RR* are each introduced by "brief critical remarks in which the terms derive from the medieval arts of poetry." (*CT*, I, 37-41; *Rom.*, 812-6). 4. ". . . the method in both poems is one that allows not only objective presentation and analysis but also author's comment—and the portraits in both contain a good deal of sharp, realistic detail of the same type." 5. In both poems "some at least of the characters described act and interact as the poem goes on . . ." 6. ". . . the author who describes these characters as an external observer becomes involved in action with them."

The final observation is not altogether accurate. The Narrator in Chaucer's Prologue is more than an "external observer"; in the *Roman* there is no involvement of the "author" in the action *during the process of the portraiture* except that, near the end, he recalls that "Curtesye" had invited him to dance (l. 1254). Professor Cunningham's fourth point is *mutatis mutandis* a partial statement of the device being analyzed in the present paper. I may say that I had isolated it and formulated it in my own terms before I had seen his article.

There apparently exists in classical and medieval literature, prior to Chaucer, no series of sketches of real people, as opposed to allegorical abstraction, at all comparable to the series of the Canterbury Pilgrims. Cf. R. A. Pratt and Karl Young, "The Literary Framework of the *Canterbury Tales*," in *Sources and Analogues*, ed. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (Chicago, 1941), pp. 3-5.

11. The two passages comprise lines 129-462 and 796-1278 of the original (*Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. E. Langlois, *SATF*, II, 7-25, 41-66). I cite and quote from the Middle English translation, which used to be attributed to Chaucer, *The Romanunt de la Rose*, where the two passages comprise lines 135-474 and 812-1308 (Robinson ed., pp. 665-8, 672-6). The translation is quite literal in the passages I use. As Preston observes, "The first fragment of the *Romaunt* is on the whole discreet and accurate: A better poem, in English, would have been a less faithful translation." p. 24.

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It is a significant fact that the figures in these two groups are presented, as in the case of the Canterbury Pilgrims, by a first-person narrator who moves freely from a precisely limited to an omniscient point of view.

To observe de Lorris' use of the device we may briefly analyze two of the figures in the first group: *Coveitise* and *Avarice*. The first (ll. 181-206) is depicted almost entirely from the omniscient point of view. Two lines only are from direct observation: the first, identifying, "And next was peynted Coveitise" and one line of vivid detail near the end (l. 202), "Ful croked were hir hondis two,"¹² which is followed by four lines of Narrator's comment:

For Coveitise is evere wod
To gripen other folkis god.
Coveityse, for hir wynnyng,
Ful leef hath other mennes thing.¹³

The bulk of the sketch is given omnisciently. Covetousness is she who

egghit folk, in many gise,
To take and yeve right nougnt ageyn,
And gret tresouris up to leyn
And that is she that for usure
Leneth to many a creature
The lasse for the more wynnyng (ll. 182-187)¹⁴

so covetously does she burn, comments the Narrator. She teaches thieves and "smalle harlates" to rob and steal,

12. This translates two lines of the original:

Recorbelees e crochues
Avoit les mains icelle image.
(Ed. cit., lines 188-9, II, p. 10.)

13. Si fu droiz, que toz jorz enrage
Covoitise de l'autrui prendre;
Covitise ne set entendre
Fors que a l'autrui acrochier;
Covoitise a l'autrui trop chier.

(Ibid., ll. 190-4.)

14. C'est cele qui les genz atise
De prendre e de neient doner,
E les granz avoirs aüner;
C'est cele qui fait a usure
Prester mainz por la grant ardure
D'avoir conquerre e assemblier.

(Ibid., ll. 170-5.)

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To taken other folkis thyng
Thorough robbery or myscounting (ll. 195-96).¹⁵

she makes traitors and false pleaders who cause "maydens, children, and eek gromes" (l. 200) to lose their heritage.

The image of *Avarice*, which follows (ll. 207-46), is depicted almost altogether from the limited point of view, descriptive of her appearance and apparel.¹⁶ One passage of omniscience (ll. 231-8) relates how Avarice is loath to give up her old clothes and buy new ones. For the rest, she is presented "Ful foul in peynting":

Ful fade and caytif was she eek,
And also grene as ony leek . . .
And thereto she was lene and megre (ll. 211-2, 218).¹⁷

She was clad very poorly

Al in an old torn courtepy
As she were al with doggis torn (ll. 220-1).¹⁸

Nearby on a "perche" hung her mantle and a "burnet cote," the latter furred with no miniver but with black, heavy lambskin; and both were very old and worn. Then follows the omniscient passage just mentioned. And the sketch is concluded with a description of Avarice's purse "that she hidde and bond so stronge" men might await "wondir longe" its opening; for, the Narrator comments,

It was not, certein, hir entente
That fro that purs a peny wente.¹⁹

These two sketches represent fairly completely de Lorris's use

15. C'est cele qui fait l'autrui prendre,
Rober, tolir e bareter,
E besochier e mesconter.

(*Ibid.*, ll. 180-2.)

16. Brief narrator's comments are at lines 213-7 and 221.

17. Cele image, e maigre e chaitive,
E aussi vert comme une cive . . .
E avuec ce qu' ele iere maigre.

(*Ibid.*, ll. 199-200, 206.)

18. Cote avoit viez e derompue,
Come s' el fust as chiens remese.

(*Ibid.*, ll. 208-9.)

19. For the original, see *ibid.*, ll. 227-33.

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of the device in the "peyntures" of the first group of figures.²⁰ For the second group, the dancing youths and maidens, the method is the same. *Gladnesse* (11. 847-76), for example, is seen as the singing companion of *Myrthe*. Two lines of omniscience reveal how long she had loved him. From the limited point of view the Narrator describes the two dancing (11. 852-5) and her beauty of face and figure; mention of her garland (1. 869) is followed by the Narrator's comment on its rarity, and the sketch concludes with his description of her costume. "And next hir wente, on hir other side, The God of Love," whose awful powers are omnisciently dilated upon, 11. 878-84. His sketch continues with a passage of mingled observation and comment on his "fasoun" and his robe (11. 885-89); the robe, painted with flowers, birds, and beasts, is described for observation, as is the flutter of birds about Love's garlanded head (11. 890-915). He seemed like an angel new come from "hevene cler," finally comments the Narrator.²¹

Myrthe is the leader of this singing, dancing throng. His sketch, presented almost altogether from the point of view of limited observation, seems an inevitable allegorical prototype of Chaucer's very real "yong Squier."²² The Narrator had never seen a fairer youth,

As round as appil was his face
Ful rody and whit in every place (11.819-20).²³

Eyes, mouth, nose the Narrator observed, his hair "Crisp . . . and eek ful bright," his broad shoulders and small "girdilstede."

20. Others may be summarily analyzed as follows. (L = limited point of view; Om = omniscient point of view; NC = Narrator's comment.) *Vilanye*: L 166-8; NC, 169-76; L, 177-80. *Envye*: L, 247-8; Om, 249-88; L, 289-96; NC, 297-300. *Eerde*: L, 349-68; Om, 369-95; NC, 396-402; Om, 403-7; L, 408-10; Om, 411-2. *Povert*: L, 449-50; Om, 451-6; L, 457-65; NC, 466-74.

21. Others may be patterned as follows.
Swete-Lokyng: L, 918-48; O, 949-82; L, 983-91; NC, 992-8.
Richesse: L, 1033; O, 1034-70; L, 1071; NC, 1072-5; L, 1075-86; O, 1087-1102; L, 1103-10; NC, 1111-16; L, 1117-20; O, 121-8.
Fraunchise: L, 121-20; O, 1221-31; L, 1232-8; NC, 1239-45.

22. Preston, p. 156.

23. La face avoit, come une pome,
Vermeille e blanche tot entor.

(RR., ed. cit., 11. 804-5.)

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He semed lyk a portreiture . . .
With lymes wrought at point devys,
Delyver, smert, and of gret myght;
Ne sawe thou nevere man so lyght.
Of berd unnethe hadde he nothyng,
For it was in the firste spryng (ll. 827, 830-34).²⁴

He was garbed in samite trimmed in beaten gold. And as for his outer garment, the Narrator saw that it was wrought

in straunge gise,
And al toslytered for queyntise
In many a place, lowe and hie (ll. 839-41).²⁵

One bit of omniscience concludes the sketch: the rose-chaplet on *Myrthe's* head had been made and placed there by this "leef," "By druerie and by solas" (l. 844)²⁶—for love and pleasure.

In summary we may say that de Lorris uses the Narrator's variously shifting points of view in these ways: The limited point of view places the figures in succession and in relation to each other: "And alderlast of everychon Was peynted Povert al aloon" (ll. 449-50); on one side of *Myrthe* dances *Gladnesse*, on the other, the God of Love. The limited point of view delineates facial and bodily appearance and attitude; it describes apparel and array; it depicts, for the second group, immediate action. The Narrator's comments are deductions from and interpretations of his observation of expression, attitude, and costume. The omniscient point of view allows the Narrator to expatiate upon qualifications, characteristics and actions, usually in the form of timeless generalities, appropriate to the trait allegorized, occasionally extending to

24. Il resembloit une peinture . . .
E de toz membres bien formiz,
Remauanz fu e preuz e vistes:
Plus legier ome ne veistes.
Si n'avoit barbe ne grenon,
Se petiz peus folages non;
Car il iert juenes damoisiaus.

(*Ibid.*, ll. 812, 814-19.)

25. Mout fu la robe desquisiee;
Si iert en maint leu encisiee
E decepee par cointise.

(*Ibid.*, ll. 823-5.)

26. Par druerie e par solas. (*Ibid.*, l. 828.)

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something like a moral essay or sermon.²⁷ Occasionally, in the second group, the Narrator's omniscient point of view reports past action which is immediately connected with the situation, as that *Gladnesse* had loved *Myrthe* "from she was twelve yeer of age" (l. 850) and had made the chaplet she had placed on his head; the knight attendant on *Largesse*

was comen all newly
Fro tourneiying faste by (ll. 1205-6).

It is evident that Chaucer's use of the device is in many respects similar to de Lorris'. Like de Lorris' his Narrator shifts in a variety of ways from one point of view to the other so that no two sketches in the Prologue follow quite the same pattern. In each, the Narrator's limited point of view covers the same ground. Since Chaucer is depicting complex reality rather than one-quality allegory he can and does employ the Narrator's comments for more complicated and subtle effects. Chaucer's greatest modification is in the area of the Narrator's omniscience; here generalities must be supported by particulars, actions given some local habitation in reference, time, and place. The modification demanded by reality is both an extension and a limitation: it includes theoretically the whole complex realm of human motive, power, and action; but it requires, not the illustration of allegorical attributes by generalized actions, but the dramatic involvement of a personality in a specific situation.²⁸ It is this challenge, it seems to me, which Chaucer accepted when he chose the device of the freely shifting points of view to depict not allegory but the reality of the Canterbury Pilgrims.

The distance from the allegorical figure of *Myrthe* to the real

27. E.g., the discussion of the power of *Richesse* both to help and to harm and the evil done by the "losengers" and "traytours" who are her hangers-on (Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 674, ll. 1036-70); the disquisition on the activities of *Envye* (*ibid.*, pp. 666-7, ll. 249-288.)

28. Compare de Lorres' knight "who was comen all newly/Fro tourneiying faste by" (*Ante* p. 10) with Chaucer's *Knight*, "late ycome from his viage." Behind Chaucer's line lies his knight's involvement in his career of knightly adventure; behind de Lorris' lines—nothing.

being of Chaucer's Squire is not very great.²⁹ For the Squire is compounded of few ingredients, centered around joyousness and youthful health and good spirits. With admirable economy and artistry, Chaucer adapts the details from de Lorris' sketch that suit his purpose: the attractive appearance, the strong well-coordinated physique, the fancifulness and new-fangledness of dress, the necessity to love a lady. To these he adds particular suggestions of upbringing, training, and activity proper to a noble youth. He places the Squire in company with his father and endows him with proper filial piety.

To observe Chaucer's use of the device of freely shifting points of view in depicting a more complicated personality we may look at his *Reve* (Prol., ll. 587-622), keeping in mind de Lorris' *Coveitise* and *Avarice*. While de Lorris' purpose is to depict allegorical abstractions, Chaucer's purpose is to portray, by means of the same formal device, a real person, three dimensional and alive. How does he do it? His Narrator begins from the limited point of view, describing the Reeve's appearance. No one will deny that the Reeve is both avaricious and covetous. His appearance indicates the avarice: "sclendre colerik man" with a close-shaved face and close-cropped, "dokked" hair,

Full longe were his legges and ful lene,
Ilyk a staf, ther was no calf ysene (ll. 591-2).

With these physiognomical details may be compared the similar ones of de Lorris' sketch of *Avarice*.³⁰ "Colerik" corresponds to the greenness ("as ony leek") of *Avarice*'s complexion³¹ and at the same time, as Professor Curry has shown, indicates one of the

29. This is none the less true, of course, if, as has been frequently suggested, Chaucer's sketch is reminiscent of his own youth. For the reality which a literary artist will present is determined by his artistic purpose. He selects from his experience, from memory, from his reading, from actuality, or from whatever source and molds the elements selected into a harmonious whole. The result, though it be real, is not a naturalistic photograph of any of his "sources." The same comment is applicable to the sketches of all the Canterbury Pilgrims for whom actual prototypes have been suggested.

30. None of the parallels to *RR* suggested below are noted in D. S. Fansler's *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose* (New York, 1914).

30. *Ante*, pp. 7-8, 11. 211-2, 218.

31. A physiognomical poem in MS Harl. 2251 observes that the choleric man is "Sklendre lene/and cytryne of colore." (*EETS*, E S 66, p. 104).

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particular directions the Reeve's avariciousness takes: concupisence.³² The epithet green itself has been transferred, in the sketch of the Reeve, to a more effective place, as we shall see. Two other brief passages from the Narrator's limited point of view, at the end of the sketch, describe his costume and his mount (ll. 615-8, 620). They further refine upon the way avarice manifests itself in the particular character of the Reeve. His horse is a stout farm animal which is well taken care of ("a ful good stot"); his "surcote of pers" is carefully tucked about his hips to protect it from the mud of the way. Only his "rusty blade" is in conformity with de Lorris' traditional *Avarice*, who keeps things by her until they are completely worn out.

We get the Reeve chiefly from the Narrator's omniscient point of view: what his characteristics and activities have been and are when he is at home in Norfolk, "Biside a toun men clepen Baldeswelle" (ll. 619-20). The passage (ll. 593-612) is subtly constructed of two alternating and contradictory themes: the *Reve* is a good, even a superlative,³³ reeve, but he is also a crafty and covetous man:

Wel koude he kepe a gerner and a bynne;
but

Ther was noon auditour koude on him wynne (ll. 593-4).

He knew how to make an accurate forecast of the yield of the crops he supervised, and was so competent that he was wholly in charge of his lord's farm affairs; *but* he "by his covenant yaf the rekenyng, . . . Ther koude no man brynge hym in arrage" (ll. 600-602). He knew, as a good reeve should, the attempted deceits of the under-bailiffs, herdsmen, and "other hyne," *but*, most sinisterly,

They were adrad of hym as of the deeth (l. 605).

The counterpoint development lends a sinister quality to the

32. Walter Clyde Curry, *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences* (New York, 1926), p. 72.

33. On the superlative quality of each of the Pilgrims, considered as representatives of a type or profession, and Chaucer's literary reasons for so presenting them see the illuminating remarks of Kemp Malone, *Chapters on Chaucer* (Baltimore, 1951), pp. 166-174.

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second of the next two lines: his dwelling, as appropriate to a successful reeve, was "ful faire upon an heeth," but

With grene trees yshadwed was his place,

and the greeness of *Avarice* makes its sly appearance.

Sufficient hint having been dropped, the next four lines (806-11) openly declare his deceitful covetousness, relating it specifically to his dealings with his lord. *Coveitise*, de Lorris had written, is she who

eggith folk, in may gise,
To take and yeve right nought ageyn,
And gret tresouris up to leyn
And that is she that for usure
Leneth to many a creature
The lasse for the more wynnyng.³⁴

The crafty *Reve's* own particular covetousness has made of him a scoundrel who

koude bettre than his lord purchace.
Ful riche he was astored pryvely:
His lord wel koude he plesen subtilly,
To yeve and lene hym of his owene good,
And have a thank, and yet a cote and hood.

One additional detail provides the *Reve* with a future in the dramatic situation: his early-learned craft of carpentry (11. 613-4), as Tupper has observed,³⁵ furnishes a motive for his later quarrel with the Miller. The sketch ends with a superb bit of dramatic placing which also sums up the *Reve's* personality in action:

And evere he rood the hyndreste of oure route (l. 622).

Avarice and *Coveitise* for all their "tangible substance"³⁶ are personified abstractions. *Avarice* and Covetousness become, in Chaucer's sketch, active ingredients of the *Reve's* personality. His personality is composed of them and of other ingredients into a complex whole. And the Narrator shows that personality in

34. *Ante*, p. 7.

35. *Types of Society in Medieval Literature* (New York, 1926), pp. 54-5.

36. The phrase is H. R. Patch's; cf. his "Characters in Medieval Literature," *MLN*, XL (1925), 9.

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action on the pilgrimage (l. 622) and, mainly in the sketch, at his home near Baldeswelle. *Coveitise* causes "maydens, children, and eek gromes" to lose their inheritances. The Reeve has pleased and cheated his lord, "Syn that his lord was twenty yeer of age." ³⁷ Allegory, as de Lorris used it in these sketches, is one-dimensional, generalized, and abstract. Reality is three-dimensional, particular, and dramatic. The sketch of the Reeve is artistic reality.

III

Because the gathering at the Tabard is imagined by its author as a real situation rather than a dream-vision one, the matter of the plausibility of the Narrator's omniscience assumes an importance here which it does not have in the *Roman de la Rose* or in Chaucer's own dream-vision poems. How, a naturalistic critic might ask, can a narrator be, on the one hand, limited to his own observation of a group of chance-encountered folk and yet, on the other hand, freely report intimate details of their past lives and experience? ³⁸ While Chaucer was happily untroubled by

37. The twenty-year-old Squire would be, one imagines, ridiculously easy prey for such a reeve. It is fortunate for him, no doubt, that his father-knight is still alive.

38. A recent commentator on this point concludes that "Chaucer does not appear to have been disturbed by the fact that the narrator here [in the Prologue sketches] appears to be omniscient . . . [The] freedom and certainty with which [the omniscient passages] are related . . . seem to indicate that Chaucer was not concerned with preserving his Narrator's point of view." Ben Kimpel, "The Narrator of the Canterbury Tales," *ELH*, XX (1953), 80, n. 12. Failing to take into consideration the fact that Chaucer was adapting his narrative device from dream-vision allegory, Mr. Kimpel fails to see the true nature of the problem with which Chaucer was faced. It is not a question of his being "not concerned" but of his adapting the old method to a new situation as efficiently and economically as possible.

Had Chaucer's solution been less skillful than it is, the difficulty would still not be an overwhelming one. Since the whole of the General Prologue and all the links are cast in the preterit tense, it would be sufficient to assume that, within the fictional framework, the Narrator by the time he came to write, as author, his account of the imagined pilgrimage had discovered, by observation, conversation, the pilgrims' tales, their self-confessions, etc., all the details which he chose to include omnisciently in the introductory sketches. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility, perhaps of likelihood, that had the *CT* been completed instead of being left as a series of tantalizingly ill-connected and incomplete fragments, all these details would have been again presented omnisciently in the course of the connecting links. Consider, especially, the Wife of Bath's Prologue, and the Pardoners Prologue and Tale in this regard.

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the demands of naturalistic criticism, the evidence of the Prologue itself makes clear that he was not unaware of the difficulty and that he took what were, for his purpose, sufficient means to obviate it. The means, it seems to me, were two: First, he involved his Narrator equally with the pilgrims in the immediate situation and gave him an opportunity to speak to each one before he described them.³⁹ Secondly, he left the Narrator, as a personality, so vague and undeveloped that the reader's interest is at once centered not on him or the sources of his knowledge but on the matters the Narrator himself is interested in: the situation and the other pilgrims.

The first is obvious enough. The Narrator had spent part of the day at the Tabard, himself prepared for a pilgrimage, and watched the arrival of sundry other folk until "At [by] night" twenty-nine "That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde" had come in. Immediately the Narrator identifies himself with them: "wel we weren esed atte beste." By sundown he had spoken to each of them; he and they had begun to make plans for the journey. (Perhaps the conversations had included other things as well.) Now follows the Narrator's confidence to the reader: It seems to him reasonable to tell

al the condicoun⁴⁰
Of ech of hem, so as it seemed me,
And whiche they weren, and of what degree,
And eek of what array that they were inne (ll. 38-41).

Such a proposition *is* reasonable, of course, and the reader accepts it without considering what liberties the Narrator may be about to take with his point of view.

For the emphasis in the Prologue is never on the Narrator him-

39. The situation is quite otherwise in *RR*. The Narrator happens unexpectedly upon the first group and describes them immediately (ll. 132-41). Let into the garden by a member of the second group, *Idelnesse* (l. 538) he describes the individual members before he has become dramatically involved with them in any way except that another, *Curtesie*, has invited him to join the dance (ll. 795-802).

40. It is important that to a 14th century reader this word would suggest character traits, moral nature, disposition, etc. as well as outward circumstances. Cf. *NED*, s.v. condition, II, 9, 11, and Robinson, glossary.

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self⁴¹ but always on the situation and the pilgrims. Here is a significant variation from the opening of the *Roman de la Rose* and of each of Chaucer's own dream-vision poems, where the emphasis is on the Narrator, how he felt, what he was doing and why, and the entrance to the dramatic situation of the poem is slow and leisurely. Even the conventional nature-description opening is here lacking in the "I" formula. It is the time of year when "longen folk to goon on pilgrimages." Caught up in the dramatic situation, the Narrator does not obtrude as a distinct personality; he offers no portrait of himself.⁴² He obviously enjoys a pilgrimage in the spring; he enjoys his fellow man and observes him keenly; he is gregarious. And his very gregariousness disarms the critic who would inquire too curiously into his points of view. In adapting the old narrative device to the purposes of depicting not allegory but reality Chaucer evidently knew what he was doing.

Under the danger of inquiring too curiously ourselves, it may be worth while to consider an extension of the Narrator's limited point of view which Chaucer's adaptation of the old device made possible. By explicit statement ("So hadde I spoken with hem everichon," l. 31) and by implication (the afternoon and evening at the Tabard; the supper: "Strong was the wyn, and wel to drynke us liste," l. 750; the general atmosphere of good fellowship) Chaucer appears to set the stage for opportunity for the Narrator's more extended conversation with some of the pilgrims. A bit of cheek by jowl private talk while at supper, a congenial group around one end of the board, perhaps even some group and competitive singing, none of these appears an hypothetically unlikely event in Chaucer's imagination of the Tabard scene. Admittedly this sort of speculation is dangerous for it tends toward the consideration of the Prologue in terms of naturalistic fiction, a category into which the Prologue simply does not fit. But with

41. Except in the passage, after the pilgrims have been described (ll. 725-46), in which he again takes the reader into his confidence to beg excuse for his plain reporting and his inability to "set folk in hir degree."

42. Professor Kimpel, after examining not only the Prologue but also the links, concludes: "Indeed the Narrator in the *Canterbury Tales* is not a definite enough personality to prove anything." p. 86.

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the caveat stated and speculation restricted by Chaucer's own signs and directives, one can observe that in some of the portrait-sketches the Narrator's limited point of view takes on the important extension of reporting indirectly the subjects' own speech. For these sketches the need of the omniscient point of view is correspondingly reduced and another element of verisimilitude is added.

Consider, for example, the following passage from the sketch of the Monk. It is the main character-revealing passage of the portrait, comprising approximately half of it, and conveys the kind of information about the Monk which in the Reeve's sketch, for instance, is given omnisciently. Substitute for the italicized nouns and third-person pronouns, the "I-my" of direct discourse, for the italicized past tenses, present tenses, and the Monk's part of his conversation with the Narrator stands revealed. The Narrator's part, consistent with his self-effacing role in the Prologue, is one line in length (l. 183), to the Monk's twenty.⁴³

<p>Ther as <i>this lord</i> was kepere of the celle, The reule of saint Maure or of saint Beneit, By cause that it <i>was</i> old and somdel streit <i>This ilke Monk</i> leet olde thynges pace And <i>heeld</i> after the newe world the space. <i>He yaf</i> nat of that text a pulled hen, That seith that hunters ben nat hooly men, Ne that a monk, whan he is recchelees, Is likned til a fissh that is waterlees,— This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloystre. But thilke text <i>heeld he</i> nat worth an oystre; [And I seyde his opinion was good.] What sholde <i>he</i> studie and make <i>hyselven</i> wood, Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure, Or swynken with <i>his</i> handes, and laboure, As Austyn bit? How shal the world be served? Lat Austyn have his swynk to hym reserved! Therfore <i>he was</i> a prikasour aright: Grehoundes <i>he hadde</i> as swift as fowel in flight: Of prikyng and of huntyng for the hare <i>Was al his lust, for no cost wolde he spare.</i> </p>	175 180 185 190
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43. Modern commentators appear commonly to give lines 184-8 to the Narrator (or to Chaucer). Cf. Preston, pp. 160-1; Bowden, p. 109. They seem to me clearly to belong to the Monk.

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The Narrator's ironic "And I seyde his opinion was good" is of course the signal which invites such an interpretation of the situation. Accept this interpretation, and all omniscience vanishes from the Monk's sketch. Two apparently omniscient lines prior to the quoted passage (ll. 166, 168) are seen as echoes of the conversation. The rest of the sketch is based on the Narrator's observation: the jingling of his bridle bells as the Monk rides into the inn-yard, his handsome un-monkish apparel, his "balled" head, his shiny face, his prominent, flashing eyes, his body "in good poynt." The Monk is a man of huge enthusiasms. A line devoted to one of his enthusiasms may as well suggest the occasion of his talk with the Narrator: supper at the Tabard,

A fat swan loved he best of any roost (l. 206).

Two passages in the sketch of the Friar, comprising two-thirds of the whole, may be read in the same way. Here is the first; the signals are "As seyde himself" (l. 219) and "he dorste make avaunt" (l. 227). My italics again indicate where first person and present tense substitutions are to be made.

Ful wel biloved and famulier <i>was he</i>	215
With frankeleyns over al in <i>his contree</i> ,	
And eek with worthy wommen of the toun;	
For <i>he hadde</i> power of confessioune,	
As <i>seyde hymself</i> , moore than a curat,	
For of <i>his ordre he was</i> licenciat.	220
Ful swetely <i>herde he</i> confessioune,	
And plesaunt <i>was his</i> absolucioun:	
<i>He was</i> an esy man to yeve penaunce,	
Ther as <i>he wiste</i> to have a good pitaunce.	
For unto a povre ordre for to yive	225
Is signe that a man is wel yshryve;	
For if he yaf, <i>he dorste</i> make avaunt,	
<i>He wiste</i> that a man was repentaunt;	
For many a man so hard is of herte,	
He may nat wepe, althogh hym soore smerte.	230
Therfore in stede of wepynge and preyeres	
Men moote yeve silver to the povre freres.	

The verbs in lines 226 and 229, one observes, require no change. A sudden shift of verb tense from past to present is the signal in

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the second long passage of reported conversation, or what I think can be taken to be such, found in 11. 240-261.

For unto swich a worthy man as he
Accorded nat, as by his facultee,
To have with sike lazars aqueyntance.
It *is* not honest, it *may* not avaunce
For to deelen with no swich poraille (11. 243-7).

Huberd, the Monk, is a loose-tongued individual. No less than twelve lines of the sketch (208-11, 235-7, 264-8) are devoted to the Narrator's reports of and comments on his talking and singing abilities: no friar in any of the four orders knew so much of "daliaunce [gossip] and fair langage"; he had a "murye note" and "Of yeddings . . . baar outrely the pris."; "And in his harpyng, whan that he had songe" his eyes shone like stars on a frosty night. Do not these details suggest an occasion for the Friar's confidence to the Narrator—an after-supper singfest encouraged by the Host's strong wine?

The sketch of the Pardoner (11. 669-714) divides into two almost equal parts. The first twenty-five lines, all from the Narrator's limited point of view, associate the Pardoner with the Summoner and describe his physical characteristics and array. What they reveal has been brilliantly demonstrated by Professor Curry in *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences*.⁴⁴ Read the last twenty-one lines as suggested for the passages quoted above, and the fact that they are the Narrator's reporting of the Pardoner's boastful talk becomes apparent.⁴⁵ In tone and content they are similar to, and prepare the way for, the Pardoner's more extended "confession" *in propria persona* when his turn comes to entertain his travelling companions.

For the Monk, the Friar, and the Pardoner reported conversation has taken the place of omniscience. Chaucer's modification of the old narrative device has enabled his Narrator to sketch these three wholly from a limited point of view; and the verisimili-

44. Pages 54-71.

45. The signal is "he seyde" twice used, in lines 695-6. The sketch affords no hint, as do the Monk's and Friar's, of the occasion of the Narrator's conversation with Pardoner.

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tude of the result has been justly praised. From none of the other sketches is the omniscient point of view wholly lacking. Why did not Chaucer use reported conversation as a substitute for omniscience in all the sketches? The question is best answered by asking another: Why should he have given up the freedom of the old device for any limitation which, applied wholesale, would have hampered rather than helped him? There is more than one item in his bag of tricks.

IV

Snatches of conversation occur elsewhere, and each serves its artistic purpose; but there are other artistic purposes to be served as well. In the sketch of the *Somonour*, for example, a passage of omniscience (II. 636-65) is given just the right degree of immediacy by a bit of direct quotation and the Narrator's comment thereon:

"Purs is the ercedeikens helle," seyde he.
But wel I woot he lyed right in dede . . . (II. 658-9).

But if, as Preston remarks, "We are kept just so far away as not to be disturbed by the onion-laden breath"; if "The observer himself stays apart, and the only gesture is the Summoner's 'gesture of orang outang': *ful prively a fynch eek koude he pulle*,"⁴⁶ that function is performed by the Narrator's omniscient point of view. In his limited capacity as observer the Narrator hears the *Merchant*:

His reson he spak ful solempnely,
Sownyng alwey th' encrees of his wynnyng (II. 274-5).

But it is his omniscient point of view which looks beneath the pompous exterior to report that

This worthy man ful wel his wit bisette:
Ther wiste no wight that he was in dette (II. 278-9).

46. Preston, p. 176.

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If the Narrator from his limited point of view concludes that the *Sergeant of the Law* is discreet

and of greet reverence—
He semed swich, his wordes weren so wise (ll. 312-3),

his omniscience adds, in addition to the fullness of the Lawyer's legal knowledge, the complicating factor that "he semed bisier than he was" (l. 322).

The old narrative device offered, in Chaucer's skillful use of it, the variety of approach that he needed—both to convey the complexity of reality and to avoid the monotony of presentation inherent in any more restricted scheme. Especially, as has been remarked, did the area of the Narrator's omniscience present opportunities not dreamed of in, nor indeed possible to, de Lorris' allegory. It could portray the *Frankeleyn* "in his contree" where "It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke" and where, were the sauce not sharp enough, "Wo was his cook." It could add an amusing and vivifying touch to the group picture of the five worthy burgesses by imagining their wives each imagining herself

to been ycleped "madame,"
And goon to vigilies al before,
And have a mantel roialliche ybore (ll. 376-8),

should their husbands be chosen aldermen, as they fully deserved to be. It could convey much information, some of it pretty sinister, about the *Shipman*—his complete mastery of the sailing craft, his easy way with his defeated foes, his equally easy way with the Chapman's wine, even the name of his ship—while the Narrator, in his limited capacity of observer and landsman, could not be sure that the *Shipman* was from Dartmouth ("For aught I woot," l. 389), and could only remark "his hewe al broun," the uneasy way he sat a horse, the ready convenience of the dagger which hung "under his arm adoun," and conclude, somewhat apprehensively perhaps, that "certainly he was a good felawe" (l. 395). Indeed, so convenient did Chaucer find his Narrator's omniscience that four of the sketches—those of the *Doctour of*

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Phisik, the *poure Persoun*, the *Plowman*, and the *Maunciple*—are presented all but entirely from that point of view.⁴⁷

But the Narrator's limitation served its purposes too. Chaucer needed—and used—the whole range. How otherwise could the nine lines of the Cook's sketch (379-87) have portrayed so much individualized reality? As limited overhearer, the Narrator learns that the Cook has been employed by the worthy burgesses to prepare their elegant food. Omnisciently he knows that the Cook's knowledge of London ale and his culinary accomplishments make him worthy of the high honor. But, limited again, and in the midst of the omniscience, the Narrator's keen eye observes and his keen wit comments on the great running sore on the Cook's shin. Was ever blancmange more doubtfully recommended or the superlative-imperfect of common reality more economically set forth? What could be spared from the sketch of the Miller? Surely not the powerful physique:

Ful big he was of brawn, and eek of bones . . .
He was short-sholdred, brood, a thikke knarre (ll. 546-9).

And, with equal assurance, not the omniscience which describes that physique in action: his "wrastlynge," his double facility at breaking open barred doors. The limited point of view gives us his red beard, broad as a spade, and the hair-tufted wart on his nose; the omniscient, his corn-stealing abilities and his "thombe of gold." The Narrator observes "his mouth as greet as was a greet forneys"; the Narrator's anticipatory omniscience (as well, perhaps, as his overhearing) reports

He was a janglere and a goliardeys,
And that was moost of synne and harlotries (ll. 560-1).

47. For each there is, of course, the limited placing. Two lines describe the Doctor's apparel (439-40); one line of Narrator's comment intrudes in the sketch of the Parson: "A bettre preest I trowe that nowher noon ys" (l. 524). Unhappily, I cannot agree with Professor Curry's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 28) that "the whole [sketch of the Doctor] probably represents by way of indirect discourse the Doctor's own estimate of himself . . ." I cannot find within the sketch the signals (as in the case of the sketches of the Monk, Friar, and Pardoner) which allow such an interpretation. Cf. Robinson, p. 763, note on l. 413. This is not to deny, of course, the value of Professor Curry's account of medieval medicine or of his subtle reading of the Doctor's character.

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In the immediate dramatic situation, the evening before departure, it is also omniscient anticipation which can add

A baggepipe wel koude he blowe and sowne,
And therewithal he broughte us out of towne (ll. 565-6).

Many of the details in the sketch of the Wife of Bath (ll. 445-476) are anticipatory promises. Some the Narrator observes: that "she was somedel deaf," which was "scathe"; that "Gat-tothed was she, soothly for to seye." ⁴⁸ Another his omniscience tells him: about the five husbands, and other company in youth, "thereof nedeth nat to speke as nowthe." Another hovers between limitation and omniscience and is altogether promissory:

In felwaeshe wel koude she laughe and carpe.
Of remedies of love she knew per chaunce,
For she koude of that art the olde daunce.

The remainder are vivifying, character-realizing details given now from the limited, now the omniscient, point of view. The sketch of the Clerk requires the Narrator's whole range. He sees the Clerk's lean horse and equally lean self: "He looked holwe" (l. 299). He sees his threadbare coat. And, perhaps with a side glance at the Monk and the Friar, he knows the reason for this meagerness of body and habit: the Clerk had yet no benefice and was not "so worldly for to have office" (l. 292). He concludes that the clerk loves books, Aristotle in particular—prefers them, again with an ironic allusion to the Monk and Friar, to "robes riche or fithele, or gay sautrie" (l. 296). Then the gentle pun on the philosopher's stone and the omniscience about how the Clerk spends the money his friends lend him, and how he repays their generosity (ll. 299-303). Now suddenly back to the limited point of view:

Nought o word spak he moore than was neede (l. 304),

48. Professor Curry interprets this for us, as well as everything else in the projected characters of the Wife, the Cook, the Miller, and the Pardoner: *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences*, chs. II-V.

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which assures us of the omniscience of the preceding passage. And finally the Narrator's conclusion:

Sownyng in moral vertu was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche.

"The pilgrimage," writes W. W. Lawrence, "conveys so convincingly the illusion of reality that its artifices have often been forgotten and its conventions neglected."⁴⁹ This paper has undertaken to examine one of these conventions, the device of the Narrator with free-ranging points of view, as Chaucer used it in the portrait-sketches of the Canterbury Pilgrims. That the device was not original with him we have seen. It was an element in the traditional methodology of literary form which he inherited from his predecessors and within which he created his own masterpieces.⁵⁰ His originality in the portrait-sketches consists not in the invention of a new form but in the adaptation of an old one. He modified the old form, to be sure, but in doing so he preserved its essential quality, which was the essence of its value for him: its freedom. In his discussion of the Prologue sketches Raymond Preston observes:

[A]s there is an effective order of persons, in relation and contrast, so there is an effective order of detail in each character. And the observer is constantly varying his distance and angle of vision, so as to produce more than two dimensions. . . . This is not photography of fourteenth-century England, or fashionable portrait painting: but the freedom of the artist to invent composite figures, to range between the *haecceitas* of the Friar and the Idea of a Christian Priest.⁵¹

Chaucer's use of the convention involved his revolt from it, for he used it on new materials and for a new purpose. The materials were the chaotic elements of actuality: from his reading, his observation, his experience, in short his living. The convention was the molding element which ordered those other elements into an artistic whole. "And," as Professor Curry states, "all the elements which he employed in [these] creations were carefully subordinated to one outstanding purpose, the concrete representation of life."⁵²

49. William Witherle Lawrence, *Chaucer and the Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1950), p. 41.

50. Cf. Cunningham, p. 181.

51. Preston, p. 154.

52. *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences*, p. viii.

VI

Hayne's Adaptation of Chaucer's Franklin's Tale

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DURING THE Civil War Paul Hamilton Hayne wrote many poems about the war itself, but he also tried at times to escape from family sicknesses, personal losses, and regional reverses by writing of the far away and long ago. In the spring of 1864 he had gone back to Chaucer for inspiration and pleasure: he wrote to his friend John R. Thompson that "I have for weeks been laboring upon a Poem, composed somewhat in the style of 'Avolio,' but much more elaborate. It will be divided into 3 Cantos, & may reach to a considerable length, perhaps 900 lines. The plot is taken from one of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales."¹

This description fits precisely Hayne's "The Wife of Brittany," although that poem was apparently not published until 1870.² In the post-war years Hayne was having difficulty in placing even his short poems, and this delay is not surprising.

In the published version Hayne gave due credit to Chaucer, for he printed under the title [Suggested by the Frankeleine's Tale of Chaucer]; but his wording implies that he considered "The Wife of Brittany" an original poem, and not merely a modernization. Clearly he did think of it as original, and he proudly noted that the "illustrious" Chaucer scholar and Harvard Professor Francis James Child

1. Letter, Paul H. Hayne to John R. Thompson, in D. M. McKeithan, *A Collection of Hayne Letters* (Austin, Texas, 1944), p. 129. Hereafter referred to as McKeithan, *Hayne Letters*. "The Wife of Brittany" runs to 909 lines in Hayne's *Collected Poems* (1882), pp. 118-137; direct quotations are cited by page and column, directly after the quotation. McKeithan calls it (p. 131) "the longest and the best of Hayne's narrative poems."

2. "The Wife of Brittany" was published in the *New Eclectic Magazine*, Nov. 1870, and republished in the *Home Journal*. Hayne also included it in *Legends and Lyrics* (1872).

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wrote me actually that I had made the "original Tale quite as much my own, as Chaucer ever had done *any* of his!"

You may recollect what Whipple said of it, viz, that "it was *equal to anything of Morris'*, & had it *appeared under* the name of the author of the '*Earthly Paradise*', it would have obtained a recognition on both sides of the Atlantic."

He adds, "We cannot see that the *American Poet* is one whit inferior to his English Contemporary in tenderness, sweetness, simplicity, grace, & ideal charm; while we venture to say, that he has more than *Morris'*, the *true Poetic enthusiasm*, the unwithholding self abandonment to the sentiment suggested by his themel!" *

B. Taylor said, that *he* preferred this poem to *Morris'*! I forget his exact words, because his letter is not by me; but he thought that I had more of the imaginative faculty, "my mood being *more* of May, while *his* is Novemberish." *

This high praise does not seem as forceful in our day as it did in Hayne's, for the poet Morris and the critic Whipple have alike lost prestige and readers through the years. Yet this is testimony that Hayne's poem may at least be worth evaluating, even though no mention is made of it in E. P. Hammond's bibliography. Perhaps she considered it too completely an adaptation to be included.

Hayne would have agreed with that judgment. The plot belonged to Chaucer; the poem was his own. In a letter to an unidentified poet he wrote:

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3. Edwin P. Whipple's review appeared in the Boston *Transcript*, Feb. 5, 1872. On Nov. 8, 1870, Whipple had written to Hayne: "I have read your poem with great interest and delight. Why should it not be celebrated, like the poems of Morris? We make a great noise about everything published by the latter; but your story equals any of his in sweetness, tenderness, pathos and simplicity. Indeed I think you need the narrative form in order to check your tendency to the abstract in thought and feeling" (ms. in Duke University Library). Hayne was especially grateful for the public notice; he wrote Whipple (March 11, 1872; ms. in Duke Univ. Library) expressing his "fervent gratitude for that last exquisite critique from your pen!" Hayne sent Whipple's review to various friends, and it was republished in several newspapers, including the Charleston *Courier*.
 4. McKeithan, *Hayne Letters*, pp. 379-80; letter from Hayne to Moses Coit Tyler, Dec. 28, 1878. Hayne does not distort Bayard Taylor's sense, for in a letter to Hayne dated Jan. 13, 1871, Taylor wrote: "It is an excellent specimen of poetic narrative, graceful, musical, touched with sweet, airy and tender coloring. I like your atmosphere better than that which Morris casts over all his stories: they are all Novemberish, while yours breathes of May. This seems to me to be your true field . . ." Taylor's letter is printed in full in *The Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne*, ed. Charles Duffy (Baton Rouge, 1945) pp. 41-43.

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Now, with that diffidence which one cannot but feel when presenting an imperfect production to the *first poetic Artist* in America, I venture to send you another, and more elaborate story in verse, the *plot* whereof is, of course, familiar to you; since it comes from Chaucer.⁵

In the letter to Oliver Wendell Holmes accompanying the poem, Hayne adds the claim that "the *versification* is original;"⁶ and he also sent a copy of the magazine version to Sidney Lanier, whose work Hayne admired. Lanier's immediate response was gratifyingly enthusiastic: after quoting part of the poem back at Hayne, Lanier adds that it has "stolen on me wooingly . . . ask me not to criticize the same, candidly or uncandidly . . . I love the poem, just as it is, and you know a man can't be a surgeon to what he loves."⁷

Time and reflection considerably dampened Lanier's initial enthusiasm. In his somewhat belated review of Hayne's poems, Lanier treats sanely yet severely the dangers implicit in modernizations of old poems:

The Wife of Brittany is a legend founded upon the plot of the *Frankeleine's Tale* of Chaucer. Now in Chaucer's time this was a practical poem; many men had not really settled in their minds whether it was right to break even a criminal oath, made in folly. But the plot is only conceivable as a thing of the past, it belongs to the curiosities of history; and although Mr. Hayne has told the story with a thousand tender imaginings, with many charming graces of versification, with rare strokes of pathos, and with a final flow of lucid and silvery melody, yet . . . in the *Wife of Brittany* and in all similar artistic ventures Mr. Hayne will write under the disadvantage of feeling at the bottom of his heart that the passion of the poem is amateur passion, the terror of it amateur terror . . .⁸

Although Hayne was enormously pleased with Lanier's review, he apparently never returned to Chaucer for a plot or theme—and

5. McKeithan, *Hayne Letters*, p. 71. This letter of Dec. 5, 1870, was probably written to Longfellow. Since he was also in correspondence with Bryant, Whittier and Lowell, it may have been to one of them.

6. Hayne to Holmes, Nov. 7, 1870; ms. in Duke Univ. Library.

7. *Centennial Edition of the Works of Sidney Lanier*, ed. Charles R. Anderson et al., VIII, 133-34; letter dated Dec. 8, 1870.

8. *Ibid.*, V, 326. Lanier's article, "Paul H. Hayne's Poetry," first appeared in *The Southern Magazine*, XVI (January 1875), 40-48. Lanier added (p. 333) that the poem needed "a more dramatic accentuation to relieve it from the danger of anti-climax to which this wonderfully smooth narrative is liable"—especially at the point that the Wife meets Aurelian "for the purpose of performing her dreadful promise."

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these remarks would have helped to dissuade him from another adaptation. It was on the whole a wise decision, but "The Wife of Brittany" has many intrinsic points of interest, and some excellence.

II

At the time that he was working on "The Wife of Brittany" (i.e., 1864-70), Hayne had in his personal library all the books that he really needed: Tyrwhitt's *Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*⁹ and R. H. Horne's *Poems of Goeffrey Chaucer Modernized*.¹⁰ He also owned a copy of William Godwin's *Life of Geoffrey Chau-*

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9. *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*. . . ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1798). Hayne's copy is now in the Treasure Room of Duke University Library. Hayne's signature on the title-page of Vol. I is followed by "1858" in his handwriting, but in Vol. II the date following the signature is Dec. 1859. Since this is a beautiful edition, Hayne made fewer notes in the margins than was his custom, but there are many light markings and underlinings. Tyrwhitt's introductory "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer" was carefully read, and Hayne especially marked the comment (p. 103) that "the long list of virtuous women in Dorigene's Soliloquy is plainly copied from HEIRONYMUS contra Jovinianum"—although Hayne omitted this section entirely.
10. R. H. Horne, *The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer Modernized* [by various poets] (London, 1831). Horne modernized "The Franklin's Tale." Hayne's copy is in the Treasure Room of Duke University Library. The Introduction by Horne, the life of Chaucer by Leonhard Schmitz, and the Prologue are liberally annotated, in addition to many markings and underlinings. There is no physical evidence (markings or discoloration of edges of leaves, etc.) that Hayne made any special use of Horne in writing his own poem. Horne had divided the story into irregular stanzas, but Hayne's divisions do not correspond with Horne's, and Horne does not divide the poem into three parts. With one exception, Horne follows Chaucer exactly: he condenses the lengthy lament of Dorigen to 27 lines (pp. 323-24). Hayne may be said to be following Horne's example here, but he had already made such extensive excisions that he hardly needed this belated example.

Tyrwhitt gives the first line as

In Armorike, that called is Bretaigne
Horne's modernization changes this to

In Armorique, once known as Basse Bretaigne,
Hayne discards this material entirely, and starts out on his own.

Hayne checked two lines of Horne's version. Horne (p. 298) writes
That all this widened world she set at nought.

Hayne renders the same line (p. 120)

And thus the whole world sadly sets at naught.

In the other example, Horne (p. 300) has

Is there not one, o' the many ships I see

Hayne may well have felt that his own rendering was superior; he gives it (p. 121) as

Is there no ship, of all these ships I see

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cer,¹¹ but there are few indications that he used it even for background material. Apparently his principal indebtedness is to Tyrwhitt, but almost any edition would have served his purpose.

Hayne begins, naturally enough since his poem is to stand independently, by dropping the Franklin completely, and with him the Franklin's Prologue and commentary. For the Franklin's Prologue, he substitutes a poetic tribute to his story ("Truth wed to beauty in an antique tale"), and to "tuneful Chaucer" and his "lusty rhyme."¹² Hayne thought of the story as essentially spring-like, with Chaucer writing it in May, and his own interest being aroused "when the early springdawn buds are green." The Proem concludes with an apology somewhat akin to the Invocation to the Muse, with Chaucer taking the place of the Greek goddess, or Milton's heavenly muse:

O brave old poet! genius frank and bold!
Sustain me, cherish and around me fold
Thine own hale, sun-warm atmosphere of song,
Lest I, who touch thy numbers, do thee wrong;
Speed the deep measure, make the meaning shine
Ruddy and high with healthful spirit wine,
Till to attempered sense and quickening ears
My strain some faint harmonious echo bears
From that rich realm wherein thy cordial art
Throbb'd with its pulse of fire 'gainst
youthful England's heart. (p. 119, col. 1)

After this appeal for aid and pardon, Hayne launches into the story. He divided his poem into three sections, and each section into stanzas of irregular length—presumably to lighten the appearance of the printed page. But he kept to the iambic pentameter, and his only variation from the Chaucerian couplet is the occasional addition of a third rhyming line.

At the beginning Hayne makes a typical minor change. In-

11. William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2 vols. (London, 1803). Hayne's copy in Treasure Room of Duke University Library; according to the flyleaf, he bought it Jan. 28, 1858. Only Ch. I., on Chaucer's life, has notes or markings to speak of. One note in Hayne's handwriting (Introduction, p. xiii) emphasizes "the naivete" of Godwin.

12. Hayne, *Collected Poems*, p. 118. Since the lines are not numbered, references will be given at the end of quotations to page and column numbers.

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stead of Chaucer's "In Armorik, that called is Britayne,"¹³ (1.729) Hayne adds a descriptive line, and omits the little-known Armorik:

Where the hoarse billows of the Northland Sea
Sweep the rude coast of rockbound Brittany.

In his description of the knight and of the knight's successful courtship, Hayne follows his source closely, although he spells the name Arviragus instead of Arveragus. But the lady's name underwent a transformation from Dorigen to the softer, more liquid Iolene. Characteristically, also, Hayne silently dropped Chaucer's cynical commentary that the lady agreed

To take hym for hir housbone and hir lord,
Of swich lordship as men han over hir wyves. (11. 742-43)

Since he is telling the story himself, Hayne also omits the passage (11. 760-98) in which the Franklin digresses to talk of the knight's dual role as master and servant of his lady, and his rhetorical question

Who koude telle, but he hadde wedded be
The joye, the ese, and the prosperitee
That is bitwixe an housbonde and his wyf? (11. 803-05)

Thus the year of happiness in Penmark, the growing desire of Arviragus for military fame, and his departure for England are skimmed over by Hayne in a ten-line stanza. Chaucer, it is true, treats the episode with equal brevity, but among the virtues of the Franklin's divagation is that it seems to give time and substance to the marriage.

Dorigen and Iolene alike wait, receive letters from England, walk along the seacoast, and are troubled by the dark, forbidding rocks. Then Chaucer introduces his young Squire Aurelius with much fanfare of praise for his grace and handsomeness; and with the somewhat cryptic statement that Aurelius had loved Dorigen "best of any creature/ Two yeer and moore" (11. 939-40) but

13. All quotations from "The Franklin's Tale" are from F. N. Robinson's *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933). Quotations are followed by line numbers as given in this edition.

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had never dared to tell his love. This apparently places the Squire's devotion to Dorigen as antedating her marriage of a "yeer and moore" (l. 806), although the indeterminate time that Arveragus has been in England makes such an interpretation not susceptible to proof. The point troubled Hayne. In his text he shifts to an indefinite time: his Aurelian has loved Iolene "for troublous years." He adds a footnote to excuse or palliate the Squire's guilty love: "We are to suppose that Aurelian had seen Iolene previous to her marriage, and that circumstances had prevented his becoming intimate with her, or in any way prosecuting his suit honestly and frankly."¹⁴

Hayne's desire to whiten the characters of the Squire and of the wife led him to make a major addition to Chaucer's poem. When Aurelius presses his suit, Chaucer has her refuse and then "in pley" (l. 998) promise to love him if he will remove, or cause to be removed, all the rocks on the coast of Brittany. This lightness in the lady's part seemed to Hayne a blemish on her character, and on the poem. At the end of his own poem he printed a prose note, possibly to add the somewhat dubious authority of Horne in support of his view, possibly to give credit for a suggestion that he had taken and used:

NOTE.—Of "The Frankleines Tale," the plot of which has been followed in "The Wife of Brittany," Richard Henry Horne, the author of "Orion," says: "It is a noble story, perfect in its moral purpose, and chivalrous self-devotion to a feeling of truth and honor; but it would have been more satisfactory in an intellectual sense had a distinction been made between a sincere pledge of faith and a 'merry bond!'"¹⁵

14. Hayne, *Collected Poems*, p. 122.

15. Hayne, *Collected Poems*, p. 137. In *Legends and Lyrics* (1872) Hayne had included two additional paragraphs (p. 107):

"This may at first seem incontrovertible, but we should remember that Chaucer, who, without pretension, and through the medium of his humor, satire, and pathos, was the great moralist and preacher of his time, desired in 'The Frankleines Tale' to show the danger of too lightly treating, from whatever motive, such solemn obligations as those connected with a wife's chastity and honor.

"Moreover, in the mediaeval age, a superstitious sanctity was often made to attach to one's word, no matter how unthinkingly it may have been given; nay, it was maintained by certain strict formalists that even an *extorted* oath was, under some conditions, binding! It will, therefore, be perceived, that in allowing so much importance to a 'merry bond,' and associating it with such

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Hayne does not materially change Chaucer's picture of the young man's obsession; both poets portray the Squire as hopelessly caught in an overwhelming love. But Hayne makes the wife more sympathetic. Iolene desires to destroy Aurelian's love, but to make the destruction as painless as possible; and she has no doubts of her own fidelity to Arviragus:

A rage, a madness holds him, the poor youth
Is drunk with passion! Shall I, deeply blessed
By all love's sweets, its balm and trustful rest,
Crush the less fortunate spirit! utterly
Blight and destroy him, *all for love of me?*
His hopes, if hopes he hath, must surely die;
Still would I nip their blossoms tenderly,
With a slight, airy frost-bite of contempt. (p. 124, col. 1)

Iolene is perceptive earlier than Dorigen, and she proposes the task of clearing away the rocks not "in play" but as a merciful way of teaching Aurelian how hopeless his courtship is. To Iolene he is a "fantastic boy" to be cured of his love-sickness and his "weak self-ruth." Hayne thus presents the task as a form of mental or spiritual surgery, painful in itself but ultimately beneficial. With her quick departure from Aurelian, Hayne ends the first part of his poem.

The second part of Hayne's version is devoted entirely to Aurelian. Hayne parallels Chaucer in his picture of the Squire's hopelessness, his spiritual sickness that rapidly infected his body. But the long complaint to Apollo he dropped entirely. What had seemed a fitting and useful convention in earlier times had for Hayne no usefulness whatever; it simply delayed the story. Here, and later, Hayne steered clear of complexities that impede the story's narrative flow; if he sacrificed richness of texture, he gained by omitting much that would have been unfamiliar and perhaps tiresome to his contemporaries. So he unified this section also by postponing the return of Arviragus from England (as the Franklin assuredly did not) to the beginning of his third section.

grave trials, the poet was true both to the time depicted and to human nature, as influenced by morbid and conventional ideas of duty."

Hayne cut this material, but made no changes in Iolene's handling of the proposal. He did not distort, although he slightly changed, Horne's own note to "The Franklin's Tale," (see Horne, p. 290).

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Hayne also simplified greatly the problem of the removal of the rocks. He too has Aurelian's brother (named by Hayne Curio) remember a magician in Orleans who could perform remarkable feats. Curio presents the magician Artevall as a "shrewd clerk-at-law." The Franklin is more ambiguous: the magician is "a clerk," a "bachelor of law," but "ther to lerne another craft" (II. 1119-27). The Franklin also goes into some detail as to how the magician acquired his knowledge and gives examples of how he had exercised it, although clearing himself of believing his own circumstantial detail by noting that this is

swich folye
As in oure dayes is nat worth a flye.—
For hooly chirches feith in oure biley
Ne suffreth noon illusioun us to greve. (II. 1131-34).

Hayne as his own narrator does not deny the magician's power, but he changes it to an ability to create delusions of mind and eye.¹⁶ Chaucer gives this quality to the magician also, but mainly here as a method by which the clerk easily proves his ability to the Squire (II. 1189-1205).

Intent on the removal of the actual rocks, Chaucer guides his reader to Orleans, describes how the magician required one thousand pounds for his services, and then returns to the Brittany coast with Aurelius. In Brittany the magician labored mightily for weeks to make the rocks disappear; although the Franklin claims that "I ne kan no termes of astrologye" (I. 1206), he works in many lines of circumstantial detail (II. 1245-1293). At this point, and somewhat earlier also, the Franklin indicates that his magician too has only the power of creating an illusion (II. 1264-65), and that "thurgh his magik, for a wike or tweye,/ It semed that alle the rokkes were aweye" (II. 1295-96). By simplifying, Hayne achieves consistency; his magician's power is at once vaguer and simpler than Chaucer's.

Lacking interest himself in astrological tables and timings and quite properly doubting that his readers would be interested,

16. Hayne, *Collected Poems*, pp. 127-29.

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Hayne solved the magician's problem by the simple expedient of stating that it had been solved. Without leaving his home or bargaining for money, Artevall makes the rocks appear to disappear. Hayne says in his own right

I need not pause
To tell how magic and the occult laws
Of sciences long dead that sage's lore
Did in the spectral midnight hours explore.
Enough, that his strange spells a marvel wrought
Beyond the utmost reach of credulous thought.
At last he said, "Sir Squire, my task is o'er;
Go when thou wilt, and view the Breton shore,
And thou shalt see a wide unwrinkled strand,
Smooth as thy lovely lady's delicate hand,
Washed by a sea o'er which the halcyon West
Broods like a happy heart whose dreams are dreams of rest." (pp. 129-30)

Only after this does Hayne bring Arviragus home, to enjoy life with Iolene for a year. Then he departs, to "scourge some banded ruffians who of late/ Assailed our peaceful serfs" (p. 130, col. 2). The Franklin is dilatory about getting Arveragus away from home: Aurelius "whan he saugh his time" (l. 1308) approaches Dorigen to tell her that the rocks have been removed and to claim the fulfillment of her promise, but not until l. 1351 does the Franklin as an afterthought note that Dorigen could not tell her husband immediately "For out of towne was goon Arveragus."

Alone, Dorigen makes a lengthy and conventional complaint, calling up the memories of many ladies who preferred death to dishonor. If not quite a digression since it brings out facets of Dorigen's character and illustrates the concept of courtly love, it effectively stops the story. Iolene is equally stunned and likewise ponders suicide, but she does not summon up any great ladies to aid her; unable to make up her mind, she waits in agony until her husband returns (pp. 132-33).

Each lady immediately tells her lord what has happened, but Hayne's husband is by far the angrier of the two. "Thou hast played with honor as a juggler's ball" (p. 134, col. 2), he tells Iolene sternly, where his earlier prototype is mainly interested in keeping the whole affair a secret (ll. 1467-72). That earlier hus-

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band comforts Dorigen, tells her immediately that she must keep her pledge, and called a Squire and a maid to conduct her to Aurelius. This conduct seemed to the Franklin and thus presumably to Chaucer so out of keeping with the normal reactions of a husband that the Franklin halts to defend Arveragus—and also himself. Hayne's husband reacts more humanly, with a magnificent and well-written imprecation on his wife's conduct: he can see ahead of them only

*These terms of doom: Shame and despair for both,
Sorrow and heartbreak! Through all keep thine oath,
Thou woman, self-involved, self-lost; and so
Face the black front of this tremendous woe!*

(p. 135, col. 1)

In his view they have no choice: Iolene, like Dorigen, must go to carry through her pledge, but Arviragus is less courtly and more natural in heaping reproaches upon his wife, where Arveragus only weeps and sighs.

Aurelius and Aurelian alike release the lady from her promise. But the Franklin has his young man do this out of pity and gentility: "Thus kan a squier doon a gentil dede/ As wel as kan a knyght" (ll. 1543-44). Hayne introduces a definite yet somewhat mystical note to account for the lover's renunciation:

Stirred by his nobler nature's grave command
(That fair, indwelling angel sweet and grand,
Born to transmute the worn and blasted soil
Of sinful hearts by his celestial toil
To Eden places and the haunts of God),
He stooped, and courteous, raised her from the sod,
And whispered closely in her eager ear
Words which his guardian genius smiled to hear;
Words of release, and balmy breathing cheer.

(pp. 135-36)

Knighthood and the concept of gentilesse, Hayne thought, had lost their power, but a noble religious impulse had not. So he shifts the reasoning to bring it in accord with his own belief and that of his time. The husband and wife in Hayne's story are thus re-united, and Aurelian disappears from the narrative the moment that he disappeared from Iolene's sight. The Franklin,

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unfortunately, has some loose ends to tie up. Aurelius had promised one thousand pounds to the magician; with difficulty he raises some five hundred pounds, takes it to the magician, and tells his story. The magician, not to be outdone in gentility, releases Aurelius from his debt (11. 1559-1619). The Franklin's tale closes with this rather anti-climactic account of the financial transactions of the Squire. Because of his earlier vagueness Hayne could end with a picture of perfect married love:

Type of two perfect lives, whose single soul
Outbreathes a cordial music, sweet and whole,
One will, one mind, one joy-encircled fate,
And one winged faith that soars beyond the heavenly gate. (p. 137, col. 1)

Yet Hayne could not bring himself to stop there. He added as epilogue a commentary of his own on this old story, and he too concludes with an anti-climax:

Still, still, methinks, a soft, ethereal ray
Illumes the tender record, and makes bright
Its heart-deep pathos with a marvellous light,
So that whate'er of frenzied grief and pain
Marred the pure currents of the crystal strain,
Transfigured shines through fancy's mellowing trance,
Touching with golden haze the quaint old-world romance.
(p. 137, col. 1)

The last phrase perhaps indicates the main reasons for Hayne's changes. He thought of the story as a "quaint old-world romance"; the whole problem of courtly love vs. married duty had little relevance or interest for him. He made the story easier to read; he worked in some excellent lines and images of his own; he kept more steadily and directly to the plot. His change of the husband's reaction to Iolene's story represents his major improvement, although he himself considered the change in Iolene's reason for making the wager to be his most important improvement. His attempt to make the wife blameless seems less important, has less necessity for being, in our eyes than in Hayne's.

Primarily, however, Hayne simplified. As narrator he kept a consistent tone; he had no place for the Franklin's characteristic shifts from the elevated, courtly tone to the matter-of-fact, everyday

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one. He had no place either for the conventional complaints or for magical formulae. These omissions make his story easier to follow, but in gaining ease, in bringing the background of the story more in line with the thought and knowledge of his own day, Hayne sacrificed much of Chaucer's mystery, richness, and complexity, of structure and of characterization. That he was justified in calling his "Wife of Brittany" an original poem seems highly dubious, but he did not slavishly follow Chaucer. His work is an adaptation or a redaction, not simply a re-telling of the old tale in modern verse.

Hayne turned into verse other old stories by Froissart and other chronicles, but he did not return to Chaucer as a source. His one re-working of a Canterbury tale is lively; it has much to commend it; but it does not improve on the original. The reader may well enjoy Hayne's version, but for a richer enjoyment he must go back to Chaucer.

VII

The Horoscope of Edippus in Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*

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JOHN LYDGATE'S *Siege of Thebes*, proposed by its author to be a continuation of Chaucer's unfinished *Canterbury Tales*, is a retelling of the classical Oedipus story handed to posterity by Sophocles: the tragedy of a son who without knowledge of his identity killed his own father and married his own mother. The original story in classical Greek drama shows the father, King Laius, learning his fate—that he must perish at the hands of his son—from the Oracle. In Lydgate's principal source, the French *Roman de Edipus*, King Laius seeks the gods to ascertain the future and learns from them the fate in store for him:

Quant le roy Layus qui moult auoir veu aduenir dauentures vit que il eut vng beau filz, il alla à ses dieux pour scauoir et pour entendre que celuy filz pourroit estre: et comment il se maintiendroit: et à quelles prouesses il viendroit en sa vie. Et luy fut dit que celuy filz feroit merueilles, et quil occiroit son pere.¹

But when in the *Siege of Thebes* Lydgate came to present this important verdict that Oedipus would slay his father, he discarded the mythological oracular machinery of his sources. Recasting his material for a mediaeval audience which probably had more faith in astrology than in oracles or mythological deities, Lydgate substituted for the gods or the Oracle the horoscope, and divined the tragedy that would ensue from the child's natal configuration.²

1. Cited from *Lydgate's Siege of Thebes*, ed. Axel Erdmann and Eilert Ekwall, *EETS, ES*, No. 125 (1930), p. 103. Cf. also Giovanni Boccaccio, who reports that Laius "consuluit de futura prole oraculum" (*De Genealogia deorum*, lib. ii, cap. 69) and "consuluit de nascitura prole Laius apollinem" (*De casibus illustrium*, fol. iii verso). For the text of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, see *EETS, ES* No. 108 (1911), ed. Axel Erdmann.

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Before Lydgate's Edippus is born to King Layus and Queen Jocasta, the king summoned "wel expert Astronomyens" to learn

By Craft only of Calculation,
The Chyldes fate and dispositioune;
And ther-vpon to geve a Iugement. (11. 367-369)

These mediaeval experts thereupon consulted accurate astronomical tables and performed all the necessary manipulations for determining the exact configuration of stars which would exist at the child's birth.³ They examined planetary hours, years, aspects, houses, signs, constellations.

And fynaly in conclusyoun,
They founde satourn in the Scorpioun,
Hevy-chered malencolik and loth,
And woode Mars furious and wroth,
Holdyng his Sceptre in the Capricorn,
The same houre whan this chyld was born,
Venus deiecte and Contrarious
And depressed in Mercuryes hous;
That the dome and Iugement fynal
Of thies Clerkes, to speke in special,
Be Fatal sort, which may not be withdrawe,
That with his swerd his fader shal be slawe;

(11. 387-398)

Obviously upset at this startling news, King Layus commanded that when born the child be killed. Obeying his command, Queen Jocasta sent the infant to the forest to be slain; but the henchmen took pity and merely left the child to die. Edippus was rescued, taken to a neighboring country, grew to be a man. On a journey to Thebes he unwittingly killed Layus; then, upon solving the riddle of the Sphinx, married the widowed queen—by whom he had two sons and two daughters. When later he discovered his identity, he lost his wits, tore out his eyes, and was trampled to death by his own sons.

From Lydgate's description of the natal horoscope of Edippus,

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2. Just as Professor Curry has shown that Chaucer did in the *Knight's Tale*, the *Man of Law's Tale*, and the story of Hypermnestra in the *Legend of Good Women*. Cf. Walter Clyde Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* (Oxford, 1926), chs. VI and VII.
 3. For a method of doing this, together with an explanation of many of the terms which Lydgate here employs, see Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, Part II, Sect. 44.

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we know that Saturn is in Scorpio, Mars is in Capricorn, and Venus is in "Mercuryes hous." That is to say, Saturn is in the "house" of Mars (Scorpio), Mars is in the "house" of Saturn (Capricorn), and Venus is in the "house" of Mercury (Virgo).⁴ Furthermore, we may observe that Mars, when in Capricorn, is in a position known as his "exaltation," wherein his influence is especially powerful;⁵ and that he is the malefic planet about which mediaeval and Renaissance astrologers reported:

Mars is hot and dry, fiery, violent, delighting in slaughter and death, in quarrels, brawls, . . . and other contraventions; he inspires wars and battles, and rules over pillage, plundering, ruin, and destruction; he rejoices in the outpouring of blood, and in all kinds of oppression; . . . he signifies generals, soldiers, . . . surgeons, . . . butchers, . . . smiths, . . . cutlers of swords and knives, . . . and causes all hurts by iron.⁶

Saturn, we may notice, is the chief and most powerful of the evil planets, reported by the astrologers to be

cold and dry, melancholy, malevolent, signifying extreme old age, heaviness and melancholic complexions, darkness of counsels, profound silence, ancient and precious things pertaining to judgments, . . . complaints and mutterings, . . . old men, fathers, grandfathers, monks, and sectarians.⁷

And Venus is a benevolent planet, usually shedding beneficent influences, but here, in the sign of Virgo, is in a position known as her "fall," wherein she is virtually powerless to exert any influence at all.⁸ Since Lydgate describes each of these planets re-

4. Each of the seven planets has two signs of the Zodiac known as the planet's "houses," another sign known as its "exaltation," and still another known as its "fall." In its "house" or "exaltation" a planet's influence is particularly powerful; in its "fall" its influence is debilitated. Saturn's two houses are Capricorn and Aquarius; Mars' are Scorpio and Aries; Mercury's are Virgo and Gemini. This is commonplace astrological knowledge, found in the introductory chapters of all astrology textbooks from ancient times to the present day.

5. Cf. Claudius Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos sive Quadruplicatum*, trans. J. M. Ashmand (London, 1822; Chicago, 1936), Bk. I, ch. xxii, p. 31: "Mars possesses a fiery nature, which receives its greatest intensity in Capricorn; his exaltation is therefore placed in Capricorn."

6. Albohazen Haly filius Abenragel, *Liber de iudiciis astrorum* (Venice, 1485), fol. 4v-5r; and William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (London, 1647, 1939), pp. 40-42. Cf. Curry, pp. 123-124.

7. Alchabitius, *Libellus isagogicus iudicorum astrorum* (Venice, 1482), sig. b3r-b4r; and Lilly, pp. 35-36. Cf. Curry, p. 129.

8. "A planet in its fall (in the sign opposite its exaltation) is unfortunate, in a weak and hopeless state." Lilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73, 341. Cf. also Ptolemy, p. 31: "Venus is in her fall in Virgo."

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spectively as "furious and wroth," "hevy-chered malencolik and loth," "deiecte and Contrarious / And depressed," we may surmise that he intended them to be at Edippus' nativity in an unfortunate position. And finally we are told that the learned men predicted from this configuration that the child would with his sword slay his father. This is not a complete horoscope, nor a full interpretation of one. But it is enough to allow us to investigate the textbooks of the mediaeval astrologers to discover if Lydgate's configuration represents a careful selection of pertinent details from a body of universally-acknowledged scientific principles.

Actually the authoritative mediaeval astrologers frequently presaged from the stars the status of a person's parents, and many of the mediaeval textbooks of astrology list certain configurations by which one might predict even the manner of the parent's death. Claudius Ptolemy, undoubtedly the most authoritative source for mediaeval astrology, gives in his famous *Tetrabiblos* or *Quadripartitum* an entire chapter (Bk. III, ch. v) concerning the fortunes and misfortunes of a person's parents.⁹ He states that the father is represented in the child's natal horoscope by Sol (in diurnal nativities) or by Saturn (in nocturnal nativities). He mentions various configurations which indicate for the father "short life," "sudden death," "bodily injuries and diseases," death from "contractions of muscles or limbs" and from "fevers or wounds." But Ptolemy does not list a configuration which would presage death to the father at the hands of the son. Julius Firmicus Maternus, however, whose *Matheseos* (or *Astronomicon Libri VIII*) is the most complete of ancient texts from the classical world devoted solely to genethliac astrology, writes a chapter entitled "The Death of the Parents" in which he says:

Whoever (born in the day) will have Sol in the house of Mars, or (born in the night) will have Sol in the house of Saturn, and Mars aspect Sol (diurnally) or Saturn aspect Sol (nocturnally) with a quartile

9. This work was widely known in the Western world from the time a Latin translation of it (from the Arabic) was made in 1172 by Gerard of Cremona. Innumerable editions of it were printed throughout the Renaissance, by Melanchthon, Camerarius, Cardan, Junctin, and others. Cf. also Frank E. Robbins' edition of it in the Loeb Classical Library (1941).

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or oppositional radiation, and the ray of no benevolent planets mitigate this, sons will kill their fathers.¹⁰

This configuration (Sol in the house of Mars or Saturn, with evil aspects from either Mars or Saturn) is verified by the notable Renaissance astrologer, Francis Junctin, in whose elaborate *Speculum Astrologiae* we find:

Sol (in a diurnal nativity) in the house of Mars or (in a nocturnal nativity) in the house of Saturn, and if Mars (diurnally) or Saturn (nocturnally) aspect Sol an evil aspect, without felicitous testimony from other planets, the son shall kill his father.¹¹

The same configuration indicating patricide is found in the compendious *Liber Astronomicus* of Guido Bonatus, perhaps the most outstanding professional astrologer of the fourteenth century,¹² and likewise in the *De Nativitatibus* of John Schoner, eminent astrologer, geographer, and mathematician of the Renaissance.¹³ The authoritative astrologers seem to be agreed upon this particular configuration's being the only one from which one should predict the tragedy of a son's killing his own father.

But this configuration, one will notice, is not exactly that which Lydgate gives. The horoscope of Edippus contains Saturn rather than Sol in the house of Mars (i.e., Scorpio); and although the benevolent planet Venus is in her "fall" in Virgo where she can-

10. (Basle, 1551), p. 201: "Sed quicunque in diurna genitura Solem in finibus Martis habuerit, in nocturna vero Saturni et Solem quidem per diem Mars, per noctem vero Saturnus quadrata aut diametra radiatione respexerit, nec hoc benevolarum stellarum radius mitigabit, patres suos filii interficiant." Several editions of this work appeared in the Renaissance. Cf. also *Julii Firmici Materni Matheseos Libri VIII*, ed. W. Kroll and F. Skutsch (Leipzig, 1879-1913).

11. (Basle, 1583), p. 186: "Sol in natali diurno in finibus Martis, aut in natali nocturno in finibus Saturni, si per diem Mars, Solem, vel in nocte Saturnus asperxerit malo aspectu, sine felicium stellarum testimonio, filius patrem necabit."

12. (Augsburg, 1491), sig. Z3v-4r: "Considerabis almuten super re patris. . . . Nam si fuerit impeditus a Marte in die vel a Saturno in nocte ab oppositione sive quarto aspecto sine presentia sive aspectu alicuius fortunarum . . . significabit hoc malam mortem patris. . . . Si autem fuerit ille malus qui impedierit almuten dictum dominus ascendentis vel almuten super ascendens significat que natus ille interficiet patrem vel erit causa mortis ipsius."

13. *Opera Mathematica* (Basle, 1551), fol. LXVIII verso: "Si Almuten dictorum locorum a Marte impeditus fuerit in diurna genitura, aut a Saturno in nocturna per tetragonum vel oppositum, sine aspectu fortunarum, & absque receptione, gravissimum erit, & si ipse impediens fuerit dominus ascendentis, vel Almuten super ascendens, fortasse natus interficiet patrem." According to Schoner, *loc. cit.*, the *almuten* designating the father is Sol (diurnally) or Saturn (nocturnally).

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not mitigate the situation, Lydgate does not mention a quartile or oppositional aspect between Sol and either of the malefics, Mars and Saturn. Lydgate, in fact, does not say where Sol is located in the horoscope of Edippus; thus we cannot determine (unless we knew the birth-month) ¹⁴ what kind of aspects might have existed between Sol and the other planets. Although Lydgate certainly knew something of astral influence, apparently for this configuration he had not consulted meticulously the works of the authoritative astrologers.¹⁵

What Lydgate has done has been to construct for Edippus what would seem to most people a fairly malignant configuration. He has selected the two malefic planets—Saturn and Mars—and has placed each of them in the “house” of the other, in which position, one might guess, each planet would be prone to emanate evil influences. Venus, a benevolent planet, he places in Virgo, in which sign Venus is in her “fall” and can therefore be of no benevolent influence. Mars, being the war-planet, governing battle, strife, iron, and other things pertaining to the sword, and being “exalted” in the evil Saturn’s house, would probably indicate something dreadful connected with swords, and perhaps might even suggest the death of the father by this means inasmuch as Saturn can in the horoscope represent one’s father. Such reasoning to such a conclusion seems to be that which Lydgate employed. I believe we must conclude that, in designing the horoscope of Edippus, Lydgate exhibited little insight into the darker and more intricate mysteries of genethliac astrology, and that he concocted (rather than ascertained) a configuration from which it would merely *seem* appropriate to predict that “with his swerd his fader shal be slawe.”

14. Sol is always in the same position in the zodiac on the same day of *any year*, beginning his course in Aries on March 12 and moving through the twelve signs at the rate of one degree each day.

15. Nor, incidentally, have I found in any of the textbooks that patricide could be predicted from such simple configurations of the horoscope as Saturn in Scorpio or Mars in Capricorn or Venus in Virgo.

VIII

Nashe and Spenser¹

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SPENSER'S REPUTATION among his contemporaries was of the highest," says R. E. N. Dodge.² But insofar as Thomas Nashe is concerned, this statement may be questioned. Many passages, however, can be cited from the works of Nashe which seem to prove that the genius of Spenser was sufficiently recognized by Nashe, who, to mention a few superlative addresses, calls him "Immortall Spenser," "Virgil of England," "The Sum tot' of whatsoever can be saide of sharpe invention and schollership," "divine Master Spenser, the miracle of wit," "fames eldest favorite," *et cetera*.³ These encomia have been accepted more or less without question by commentators who note in passing that Nashe always flowed in panegyrics whenever he mentioned Spenser.

Perhaps the sheer exuberance of the laudatory comments should be called into question. Perhaps, in our age of scientific prose, we recognize neither the capabilities of Nashe's effusive prose style, nor the multiple meanings which somehow weave themselves into the text. It is my purpose here to examine some of Nashe's statements concerning Spenser, but not with the intention of proving that Nashe excoriated Spenser. I do, however, wish to refute the prevalent belief that Nashe always placed Spenser on a pedestal. There are a number of points in the works of Nashe which seem

1. This paper, in essentially its present form, was read before the Tenth Annual Renaissance Meeting at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on April 17, 1953.

2. *The Poems of Spenser* (Boston, 1908), p. xxii. Further references will be made to Poems, title, and page number or line number.

3. *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow (London, 1910), I, 282; I, 299; III, 108; III, 323; II, 10. Further references will be made to Wks., volume, and page number.

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to be somewhat derogatory in tone towards Spenser, and I should like to discuss these points in order to isolate some of the reasons why Nashe was not always respectful of the fame of Spenser.

In *Pierce Penniless*, which is filled with Spenserian echoes and parallels from the 1590 and 1591 printings of Spenser's poems, Nashe at least twice refers to Spenser or his works in somewhat disparaging terms: (1) Nashe has imbedded in his book a beast fable that opposes the view taken by Spenser in *Mother Hubberds Tale*; (2) Spenser is rebuked for omitting Lord Strange, later the fifth Earl of Derby, from the list of "English heroes" honored by dedicatory sonnets in the printing of the first three books of the *Faerie Queene*. Further reasons for disapprobation may be adduced from other works of Nashe by referring to (1) Nashe's dislike of the use of English monosyllables, (2) his disapproval of Arthurian romances, (3) his taunts at the use of the hexameter, (4) his distrust of the Puritans, and the possibility that he suspected Spenser of inclining toward that then-obnoxious group, (5) Spenser's friendship with Gabriel Harvey, and (6) Nashe's remarks in passages that apparently praise Spenser.

Each point will have to be considered to some extent, but some prefatory remarks are necessary. In 1592, the date of the printing of *Pierce Penniless*, Thomas Nashe, at the age of twenty-five, a graduate of St. Johns, Cambridge, was struggling, none too successfully, to live in a literary atmosphere that offered little material reward and, unless subsidized by a patron, no prospect for glory. A large number of young men were attending the universities, from which they emerged completely useless as practical citizens in a materialistic, middle class culture.⁴ Having acquired aristocratic tastes, but possessing penniless purses, and finding church benefices filled and tightly controlled by genteel grafters, the intelligent young men became authors or, to use a more exact term, libellers. Leading hazardous, vivid lives, they died young. Nashe

4. See Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), in which one gains the impression that culture was not first in the minds of the Elizabethans. Also cf. Burghley's treatment of Spenser, and note the tone of the dedicatory sonnet to Burghley in the *Faerie Queene*.

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was one of the railers whose bitterness pervaded his vigorous prose and left a picture of the life of a potential artist at a time when "tinne and pewter are more esteemed than Latin."⁵

Edmund Spenser, a generation earlier than Nashe, faced similar problems, though he was practical enough to solve them more successfully. But Spenser had his moments of doubt. He had ambition, and a poor boy with ambition had only one avenue, the church, open to him; but Spenser wanted to be a great court poet, "and sing of Mars, of wars, of giusts." His hopes and frustrations appear in the shorter poems where, occasionally, bitter notes are found. The first serious complaint is found in the October eclogue of the *Shepheardes Calender*. That Spenser desired to be a court poet and that he thought the duty of the poet to be morally enlightening is sufficiently clear. That he complained of the contempt of poetry, and of the "maintenaunce of his state and studies,"⁶ indicates his dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded poets by contemporary patrons. Cuddie, in despair, answered Piers' rebuke:

Piers, I have pyped erst so long with payne,
That all mine oten reedes bene rent and wore:
And my poore Muse hath spent her spared store,
Yet little good hath got, and much less gayne.
Such pleasaunce makes the grasshopper so poore,
And ligge so layd, when winter doth her straine.⁷

Thomas Nashe in *Pierce Penniless* picked up the complaining tone, but soon turned to violent railing. At the beginning Nashe stated his own maddening condition in simple prose. The phrasal style echoes Spenser's rather plain verses quoted above.

Having spent many years in studying how to live, and liv'de a long time without money: having tired my youth with follie, and surfetted my mind with vanitie, I began to looke backe to repentaunce & addressee my endevors to prosperitie: But all in vaine, I sate vp late, and rose earely, contended with the colde, conversed with scarcitie: for all my labours turned to losse, my vulgar Muse was despised and neglected, my paines not regarded, or slightly rewarded, and myself (in prime of my best wit) laid upon pouertie.⁸

5. *Wks.*, I, 182.

6. *Poems*, Argument to the October eclogue, *Shepheardes Calender*.

7. *Poems*, S. C., "October," 11. 7-12.

8. *Wks.*, I, 157.

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Nashe could not remain in the light lamenting tone, for "without redresse complaines my carelesse verse / and Mydas-eares relent not at my moane."⁹ The doleful account led Nashe to the conclusion "that the world was vncharitable, & I ordained to be miserable."¹⁰ A trying personal experience, paralleling that found in Spenser's *Complaints*, perhaps caused Nashe to indict the insufferable treatment accorded poets when he considered "how many base men that want those parts which [he] had, enjoyed content at will, and had wealth at command."¹¹ The wretchedness, vulgarity, and mutability found in the world are continuous themes throughout Spenser's *Complaints*.

The complaining tone, of course, was commonplace in Elizabethan prose and poetry. But appearing in Nashe as it did, and in connection with other Spenserian commentary and allusions in *Pierce Penniless*, it is quite possible that Nashe in this instance was influenced by Spenser. It must be remembered that Spenser was hardly more than a minor poet in the eyes of the world, if he could have been called that, before the year 1590. The first three books of the *Faerie Queen* were printed in 1590; by March 19, 1591, the *Complaints* volume was in print; and at the time of the publication of the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser became the acknowledged author of the *Shepheardes Calender*. From the allusions in *Pierce Penniless*, it is apparent that Nashe had steeped himself in the recent publications of Spenser. The title name of "Pierce" may have been suggested by the name "Piers" in the *Shepheardes Calender*, although, of course, the name had a literary tradition in social satire dating back at least to *Piers Plowman*. Pierce is, to be sure, a mask for Nashe, just as Colin Clout is for Spenser. Nashe's Pierce, much as Spenser's Colin Clout, is a sophisticated intellectual who has floundered on the rocks of Elizabethan materialism:

Ah worthlesse Wit, to traine me to this woe,
Deceitful Artes, that nourish Discontent.¹²

9. *Wks.*, I, 158.

10. *Wks.*, I, 158.

11. *Wks.*, I, 158.

12. *Wks.*, I, 158.

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Furthermore, the poems of Spenser which appeared at this time, with the exception of the *Faerie Queene*, are filled with satire quite in keeping with the tone of Nashe's satirical treatise. The title of Nashe's book, as we know, is no more than a pun on the scholar's penniless purse.

The first obvious connection or parallel between Nashe and Spenser occurs in the beast fable that immediately follows Pierce's supplication to the devil. The allegorical tale of a lion, bear, fox, and chameleon follows generally the outline of the narrative in *Mother Hubberds Tale*. To find exact parallels in the two tales would be a distortion,¹³ but the outlines are distinctly alike. Bluntly told by Nashe, the anecdote satirized the bear who had been duped by the fox and the "camelion." Nashe's version differs from Spenser's treatment in a number of details; in fact, Nashe seems to take an opposite view concerning the events. The bear, "being chiefe Burgomaster of all the Beasts under the Lyon,"¹⁴ certainly refers to Leicester, though he had been dead for some time, a fact sarcastically referred to by Nashe when he said that the bear was consumed by an inward grief when he could not work his "will of a fat Hind that out ran him."¹⁵ The scandal of Leicester was, perhaps, common knowledge, and Spenser, according to one commentator, seems to touch upon the scandal in the March eclogue of the *Shepheardes Calender*.¹⁶ According to Nashe, the bear had begun to think how he might increase his pleasure, or "best husband his authority," had searched out the fairest of a "heard of Deare," had blinded the lion's eyes "as he liste," and had been reported on by the "Woodmen." Leicester is the object of Nashe's satire, perhaps because of Leicester's being leader of the Puritan faction. He had also been a favorite of the Queen until his marriage had been reported to her by Simier and other court in-

13. McKerrow, in *Wks.*, IV, 139, note to I, 226, suggests that the general idea of the fable originated in Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*. He bases his suggestion on a passage in Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters*: ". . . they can tell parlous Tales of Beares and Foxes, as shrewdly as Mother Hubbard for her life."

14. *Wks.*, I, 221.

15. *Wks.*, I, 226.

16. Charles E. Mounts, "Spenser and the Countess of Leicester," *ELH*, XIX (September, 1952), 191-202: "And learne with Lettice to wexe light." Lettice Knollys was Leicester's last wife.

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triguers, or "the Woodmen." Nashe made the bear into the central character, but the subordinate intriguer, the fox, seems to refer to Spenser himself. The supposition cannot be proved definitively, although the following quotation strikes very close to Spenser, if it is remembered that Spenser was in a close relationship with Leicester at one time, and if Spenser's ambitions are recalled. The bear by using the fox has attempted to further his own position:

To broach this device, the fox was addrest like a shepheards dogge, and promist to have his Pattent seald, to be the Kings Poulttere for ever, if he could bring it to pass.¹⁷

This could be a crude summary of Spenser's ambitions expressed in the *Shephearde's Calender*. Instead of "shepherd's swain," here is "shephearde's dogge"; and "the Kings Poulttere" almost certainly refers to the court poet.¹⁸

The other important reference to Spenser in *Pierce Penniless* may quite relevantly be called Nashe's rebuke of Spenser.¹⁹ Nashe reproved Spenser for omitting Amyntas from the list of "English heroes" honored in the dedicatory sonnets placed at the end of

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17. *Wks.*, I, 224. Cf. *MHT*, 11. 303-4: "Thus is the Ape become a shepheard swaine, / And the false Foxe his dog. . . ."; and 11. 319-20, "For that disguised dog lov'd blood to spill, / And drew the wicked shepheard to his will."
18. If Nashe had identified the "device" of the bear, a number of questions concerning Spenser and Leicester could be answered. For one thing we might learn why Spenser suddenly became virtually an exile in Ireland. There are three possible answers to the "device" which the fox was to bring about: (1) prevention of the French marriage between Elizabeth and Duke d'Alencon, (2) Leicester's winning of Elizabeth, or (3) to soften the news of Leicester's marriage to Lettice Knollys. None are definitive answers. Nashe, himself, denies any allegorical intent: "The tale of the Beare and the Foxe, however it may set fooles heads a worke a farre off, yet I had no concealed ende in it." *Wks.*, I, 320. See also *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Greenlaw, *et al.*, *The Minor Poems*, I (Baltimore, 1943), 447, for the note by Sir Edmund Chambers, *English Pastorals*, pp. xxv-vi: "Elizabeth heads the list as Cynthia, and the rest follow, the numbers of twenty or thirty; nor can we doubt that, although many of the names are difficult for us to identify, they were all well understood by, at any rate, the inner literary circles of the day." See also Editor's note, *The Minor Poems*, on *Colin Clouts*: "This is verified by Nashe (*Pierces Supererogation*, 1598, p. 18): 'Though I be not greatly employed, yet my leisure will scarcely serve to moralize Fables of Beares, Apes, and Foxes: (for some men can give a shrewd gesse at a courty allegory:) but where Lordes in expresse tearmes are magnificently contemned, Doctors in the same stile may be courageously confuted.'" Although the contents are pertinent to the argument here, *Pierces Supererogation* was a work by Harvey, not by Nashe, and was printed in 1598, not 1593.
19. *Wks.*, I, 243-5. See my note "Nashe's Rebuke of Spenser," *Note and Queries*, Vol. 198 (April, 1953), pp. 145-6. The contents are briefly summarized here.

the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* printed in 1590. Spenserian scholars in general have agreed that Amyntas was Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, later the Earl of Derby, also the husband of Alice Spencer.²⁰ Nashe accused Spenser of forgetfulness in letting "so speciall a piller of Nobilitie passe vnsaluted," and proceeded to frame a sonnet of his own in which he surmised:

But therefore gest I he supprest thy name,
Because few words might not cōprise thy fame.²¹

Both Spenser and Nashe must have known that Lord Strange, after Elizabeth through his mother Mary Clifford, was considered to have a possible claim on the English throne. Nashe was also aware that Spenser had avoided deliberately the dedication of a sonnet to one who might be proclaimed a rival of the Queen to whom the *Faerie Queene* was addressed.

In no other extant work does Nashe allude to Spenser in the same proportion as he does in *Pierce Penniless*. If the prejudices of Nashe are examined, however, it will be found that he differed from Spenser in a number of points to which I have referred previously. It is now necessary to examine the points briefly one by one. Nashe disliked English monosyllables:

Our English tongue of all languages most swarmeth with the single
money of monisyllables, which are the only scandall of it.²²

Furthermore, he would not bow before the Chaucerians. Defending his own coinages, he stated that "Chaucers authoritie, I am certaine, shalbe alleadged against me for a many of these bauldectums." To Nashe, there was no reason since English had recovered her state that she should change into her old rags "when she is wedded to new prosperitie."²³ When one thinks of the use of archaisms in the English language, the thought is usually con-

20. *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Henry John Todd, 8 vols. (London, 1805), I, xc-xcii, quoted in *Spenser Variorum, Minor Poems*, I, 471-2; *Poems*, in notes to *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, p. 810; and *Wks.*, IV, 150, in a note to I, 243.

21. *Wks.*, I, 244.

22. *Wks.*, II, 184.

23. *Wks.*, I, 316, 317.

nected with Spenser, especially with the conscious usage in the *Shephearde's Calender*.

One quotation will be sufficient to express Nashe's disapproval of the Arthurian romances. In the *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1588, he calls Arthur of the Round Table and such stories "the fantasticall dreams of those exiled abbie lubbers."²⁴ Spenser's indebtedness to the Arthurian tradition is, of course, obvious in the *Faerie Queene*.

Nashe's taunts at the use of the hexameter are related to the quarrel wth Gabriel Harvey, who, with Sidney, Dyer, and Spenser, had experimented with the use of this meter in English verse. Nashe jocularly told the anecdote that Harvey spoke in hexameters while he was at Cambridge, and that "once he made an Hexameter verse of seauen feete, whereas it would lawfully beare but six; which fault a pleasant Gentleman hauing found him with, wrapt the said verse in a peece of paper, & sent a lowse with it, inserting underneath, This verse hath more feet than a lowse."²⁵ According to Nashe, the hexameter could not thrive in English, "our speech [being] too craggy for him to set his plough in: he goes twitching and hopping in our language like a man running vpon quagmiers, up the hill in one Syllable and down the dale in another, retaining no part of that stately smooth gate, which he vaunts himselfe with amongst the Greeks and Latins."²⁶ In his next paragraph he points out that Spenser did not write *all* his poems in hexameter verses, in spite of his friendship with Gabriel Harvey.

Nashe often refers in abusive terms to the Puritans. It has been observed above that he satirized Leicester, the leader of the Puritan faction in England, and by his satirizing Leicester, we may infer that he accused Spenser. Nashe also took part in the Martin Marprelate controversy; but when Harvey was accused

24. *Wks.*, I, 11. Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"* (Chicago, 1942), p. 75, calls attention to this item.

25. *Wks.*, III, 86, and notes. Nashe, it appears, plagiarized this from one of Harvey's letters to Spenser, in which Harvey complained that some of Spenser's verses were incorrect, "especially the third, whych hath a foote more than a Lowce."

26. *Wks.*, I, 298-9.

of being Martin, Nashe came to his defense by stating that Harvey did not have enough wit to be Martin.²⁷

The friendship of Harvey and Spenser hardly calls for additional comment; it has been amply covered by Spenserian scholars. But insofar as this friendship affected the Harvey-Nashe polemic, it may be observed that Harvey rebuked Nashe for not taking sufficient notice of Spenser: "Hee [Harvey] complaines I doo not regard M. Bird, M. Spencer, Monsieur Bodin." Nashe answered that Aristotle and Bernard did not see all things, and perhaps Bird, Spenser, and Bodin have had "theyr eyes dazeled" by Harvey's brightness.²⁸ The comments on Spenser are usually connected with Harvey, and these may be examined in connection with Spenser's friendship with Harvey. Nashe, in *Four Letters Confuted*, stated that "not the least, but the greatest Schollers in the world have not only but exceedingly fede him fat in his humour of Braggadocio Glorioso. Yea, Spencer him hath often Homer tearmed, / And Monsier Bodkin vowd as much as he; / Yet cares not Nashe for him a halfpenny."²⁹ When Harvey extolls his familiarity with Spenser, it may be considered, says Nashe, that the malicious slander against the poet is indeed true.³⁰ Furthermore, in a passage often quoted as praise of Spenser, Nashe implores the doleful friendship of Harvey:

Immortal Spencer, no frailtie hath thy fame, but the imputation of this
Idiots friendship: upon an unspotted Pegasus should thy gorgeous
attired Fayrie Queene ride triumphant through all reports dominions,
but that this mud-born bubble, this bile on the browe of the Universitie,
this bladder of pride new blowne, challangeth some interest in her
prosperitie.³¹

Commenting on Spenser's "over-loving sonnet" to Harvey, Nashe questioned, "why should friends dissemble one with another?"³² But he comforts himself by stating sarcastically that Spenser's "name is able to sanctifie any thing," even Harvey.

27. *Wks.*, III, 138.

28. *Wks.*, I, 293-4.

29. *Wks.*, I, 282.

30. *Wks.*, I, 282.

31. *Wks.*, I, 282.

32. *Wks.*, I, 323.

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In this short survey of Nashe's comments on Spenser we may observe that whether through envy, petulance, pure maliciousness, or merely a natural aversion, Nashe seems to have expressed a certain impertinence toward Spenser. We should remember that Nashe recognized the genius of Spenser, numerous references attesting this fact. But Nashe was always alert to satiric intent and invective. It was perhaps inevitable that so great a poet as Spenser should have provoked some buzzing from this Elizabethan gadfly.

IX

Some Notes on the "Courtly Love" System in Jonson's *The New Inn*¹

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ONE OF the most interesting aspects of *The New Inn* is Jonson's treatment of the "courtly love" convention. There is ample evidence of the presence of various elements of the tradition in the play; indeed, one scholar has noted that almost one-third of the lines of the play are devoted either directly or indirectly, to the conventions connected with the "courtly love" system.² Yet, in spite of this emphasis, few students of the play have chosen to concentrate their critical attention upon Jonson's employment of the "courtly love" apparatus.³ This study seeks, in part, to remedy this situation by considering on a modest scale the poet's treatment of the "courtly love" convention in the belief that such an investigation is warranted by the development of the play itself.

The system of "courtly love" originated in twelfth-century France, developed during the ensuing Middle Ages, and flowered

1. This paper was originally prepared in 1951 for Professor Allan H. Gilbert's seminar in Elizabethan Drama at Duke University. My thanks are due Professor Gilbert for sharing his knowledge of Jonson with me.

2. See *The New Inn, or The Light Heart*, ed. George B. Tennant (New York, 1908), p. xxxv. Tennant notes that "more than one-fourth" of the lines in the play "are given to low-comedy" and "nearly one-third" are devoted to the "courtly love" scenes. The remainder of the play is concerned primarily with the "Beaufort-Frank-Laetitia incident." Thus the activities of the drama develop along three important lines, and the relative importance of the treatment of the "courtly love" elements may be readily observed.

3. This attention has been largely confined to the court of love (see Tennant, pp. Ivi-Ixii). Tennant's discussion is concerned with the "probable sources" for the court of love as used by Jonson in the play. See also *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1925-50), X, 317. (The Herford and Simpson text has been used in this study and all references are to this edition.) Some additional remarks may be found in J. B. Fletcher, "Précieuses at the Court of Charles I," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, I (January-March, 1903), 120-153.

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in the literary productions of Chrétien de Troyes, the authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, Geoffrey Chaucer, and Edmund Spenser. It does not seem necessary here to give a fully detailed analysis of the origins and sources or the development and influence of the system of "courtly love." This information may be obtained in detail or in outline in a number of works devoted to various aspects of the subject.⁴ It is necessary for the purposes of this paper, however, to discuss the system briefly and to show how it operated both before and during the lifetime of Ben Jonson.

The "courtly love" convention began as a code of manners, which eventually crystallized into a literary tradition.⁵ The primary sentiment in the system, of course, is love, but love of a "highly specialised sort, whose characteristics may be enumerated as Humility, Courtesy, Adultery, and the Religion of Love."⁶

Love increases the valiance and nobility of the lover. It brings, paradoxically, both joy and woe, happiness and melancholy. It causes dreams, doubts, fears, timidity, jealousy, and mental anguish—especially in absence. The lover regards himself as a willing slave—driven by love to despair or to madness. He suffers burning desire—the flames of love—extremes of heat and cold, loss of sleep, loss of speech, and other serious ailments which usually threaten to end fatally. In the presence of the beloved the lover sighs, sheds tears, trembles, and turns pale.⁷

In addition, there is a "service of love" which both lover and lady follow carefully.

The lover is the lady's 'man.' . . . The whole attitude has been rightly described as a 'feudalisation of love.' This solemn ritual is felt to be part and parcel of the courtly life. It is possible to those who are, in the old sense of the word, polite. It thus becomes, from one point of view

4. For short accounts of the background and development of the "courtly love" system, see William G. Dodd, *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower* (Boston, 1913), pp. 1-20; Earle B. Fowler, *Spenser and the System of Courtly Love* (Louisville, 1935), pp. 1-5; Lewis F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1896), pp. 2-5; Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John J. Parry (New York, 1941), pp. 3-24. For longer accounts, see the following: Thomas A. Kirby, *Chaucer's 'Troilus'; a Study in Courtly Love* (Baton Rouge, 1940), pp. 3-87; C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 1-43; Sidney Painter, *French Chivalry* (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 95-148. For a detailed account of origins and sources, see William A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of 'The Court of Love'* (Boston, 1899).

5. Fowler, p. 4.

6. Lewis, p. 2.

7. Fowler, pp. 1-2.

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the flower, from another the seed, of all those noble usages which distinguish the gentle from the villein: only the courteous can love, but it is love that makes them courteous.⁸

Under the influence of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and *Amores* and through the *De arte honeste amandi* of Andreas Capellanus the system was codified. A pertinent terminology and dialectic was developed somewhat along the lines of Scholastic methods and fostered by the literary efforts of Bernart de Ventadorn, Chrétien de Troyes, the authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, and, later, by the example of Chaucer and Spenser.⁹ Courts of love were held as early as the twelfth century by the Countess Marie de Champagne, daughter of the famous Eleanor of Aquitaine and Louis VII of France.¹⁰ There, in Marie's sophisticated establishment, the rules of Andreas' code were put into effect and love became an art to learn and practice.¹¹

In Italy a new influence was brought to the "courtly love" convention by Guinicelli, Cavalcante, and Dante. These poets celebrated ideal love and presaged the later important development of Platonic love in "Renaissance amatory theory." It was this Platonic conception of love and beauty which influenced the ideas and practice of Charles I's French consort, Henrietta Maria.

As a result of these developments the system of "courtly love" became identified with certain specific relations between the lover and the lady and with certain ideas in regard to the nature of love itself. Some of these conditions may be expressed by the following effects:

1. The lover becomes pensive, moody, and melancholy.
2. Love produces a constant state of anxiety, fear, and doubt in the lover.
3. Love causes pain and jealousy in the lover.
4. Suffering becomes a necessary condition to love.

8. Lewis, p. 2

9. Mott, pp. 4-5.

10. Fowler, p. 2.

11. Lu Emily Pearson, *Elizabethan Love Conventions* (Berkeley, California, 1933), p. 8.

For an outlined description of some cases presented before an early fourteenth-century court of love, see Thomas F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1920), pp. 41-45.

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5. Pain itself is sweet to the lover.
6. The lover complains of the lady's cruelty and pleads for mercy.
7. The lady yields slowly and cultivates in the lover the virtues of patience and perseverance.
8. Love results in the captivity of the lover.
9. In consequence of suffering, the lover is reduced to despair.
10. This despair results in physical and pathological symptoms. The lover experiences the flame or burning sensation of desire.
11. Love not only inflames, but it also chills.
12. The lover is in a constant state of restlessness.
13. Because of this restlessness the lover suffers a loss of sleep and appetite.
14. The lover grows pale and trembles at the sight of the lady and gives way to sighs and tears.
15. As a result of the lover's afflictions love becomes an illness.
16. The only source of permanent relief to the lover is the lady herself.
17. Deprived of his lady's grace the lover's only recourse is death.¹²

Many of these conditions remained as a part of the "courtly love" tradition which the Elizabethan poets inherited and may be observed in the sonnet sequences as well as in the courtly life of Queen Elizabeth's reign.¹³ Particular aspects of this tradition

12. Fowler, pp. 11-42, *passim*.

This is only a partial list of the effects of love according to the system, but many of these specific effects may be found illustrated in the characters of Lovel and Frances and in the development of their courtship.

13. Pearson, pp. 7-8.

"According to courtly ideals, then, love became essentially sensual, secret, furtive, and yet was supposed to incite the lover to worship great deeds, demanding of him nobility of character and moderation in conduct. Briefly tabulated, its characteristics were:

1. The effects of love must be:

Suffering or severe sickness,
Sleeplessness,
Confusion and loss of speech in the lady's presence,
Trembling and pallor when near the loved one,
Fear to make an avowal to the lady, and
Dread of detection by others.

2. The lover assumed the following obligations:

He became the lady's vassal and protested absolute submission and devotion to her,

He gave his lady power over his life or death,
He vowed his love to surpass all other things in value,
He was made rich by the slightest token from his lady, and
He adored her as a divinity. . . .

It is noteworthy that in Elizabethan England, where ladies themselves not infrequently bartered their love for this world's goods through a comfortable marriage, the courtly love conventions included all the above rules of behavior." One may also observe that Lovel, the protagonist of *The New Inn*, exhibits all of the effects of love listed above except, perhaps, the loss of speech in his lady's presence.

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may be noted in some of the contemporary plays including Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis* (c. 1586-1588); Marston's *Parasitaster, or the Fawne* (1606); Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (c. 1609); and Massinger's *The Parliament of Love* (1624). This dramatic interest in the tradition received new impetus from Queen Henrietta Maria who was primarily responsible for making Platonic love fashionable at the court and who exerted a considerable influence on English manners and letters by 1630.¹⁴ In the previous year (1629), *The New Inn* had been produced on the stage; in 1631 Jonson released the play to the reading public.

Henrietta Maria's interest in the "courtly love" tradition and the Platonic love doctrine stemmed naturally from her early training under "the congenial influences of the Hôtel de Rambouillet," whose reforms were directed principally toward "the purification of the language and of the relations between the sexes."¹⁵ In considering these matters the Hôtel used as a textbook Honoré D'Urfé's *L'Astrée* (1616-1620), a novel illustrating all types of love from "lustful inconstancy" to "immaculate Platonism."¹⁶ This Platonism particularly influenced Charles's French consort's ideas of love and through her had its brief hour of importance in the social and literary life of the court. It was this Platonism which "urged most passionately the power and duty of higher natures to love without desire."¹⁷

It was this aspiration which led medieval nun and monk to mystic espousal with the Christ, or with the Mother of Christ; which moved the knightly troubadour to a loving service of an inaccessible dame, in which no reward was asked but the right to serve; which, later, in the revived paganism of the Renaissance, found new sanction in the supposed doctrine of Plato's *Banquet*, according to which grosser man is led upward from the contemplation of woman's beautiful person to the contemplation of the truer beauty of her mind and soul, and thence to the Beauty which is God.¹⁸

14. Fletcher, p. 128. See also Eric Linklater, *Ben Jonson and King James: Biography and Portrait* (London, 1931), p. 289, and Clifford Leech, *Shakespeare's Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth Century Drama* (London, 1950), pp. 189, 196.

15. Fletcher, p. 125.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 126. D'Urfé is also cited by Frances Frampul as one of "Loves Fathers" in her commentary on Lovel's discussion of love (III, ii, 11. 201-206).

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.* See also Fowler, pp. 4-5.

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Since the two ideals of Platonism and "courtly love" contemplate different ends, it would seem they are irreconcilable, but this is not exactly the case.

In theory the systems were still distinct, but the affinity of Christian and Platonic doctrine encouraged the fusion of the worship of the Virgin with the Platonic love philosophy to form the Renaissance religion of beauty in woman. This ideal passed into France and then into England side by side with the Petrarchan courtly tradition embodied in the sonnets to Laura. In France the lyrists of the *Pléiade* apparently swung from Petrarchism to Platonism and back again, or, to speak more accurately, they adopted the framework of the courtly system but idealized the love philosophy by an injection of Platonic doctrine.¹⁹

In general, this same mixture is evident in the Elizabethan age in company with a gradual refinement of the conventions encouraged by Queen Elizabeth's "formal attitude of chaste austerity."²⁰ This tendency towards a refinement of the tradition was re-emphasized later when Henrietta Maria began to exert her influence in social and literary matters.²¹

Jonson, then, had available for his use in *The New Inn* the "courtly love" system, the Platonic love doctrine as sponsored and practiced at court by the Queen, and a combination of these two conventions resulting from a fusion of elements from both. From this material the poet appropriated aspects from each element and developed them to fit his artistic purpose. Some scenes plainly show the influence of the system of "courtly love" while others reveal indebtedness to Platonic doctrine.²² The terminology and

19. Fowler, pp. 4-5. For an example of Jonson's employment of these elements in *The New Inn*, see Lovel's discussion of Platonic love before the court of love (III, ii, l. 15, *passim*).

20. *Ibid.*

21. Fletcher, pp. 128-129. For Henrietta Maria's interest in Platonic love and her influence in social and literary matters, see Leech, pp. 163, 189, 196; Linklater, p. 289; Henry Ten Eyck Perry, *Masters of Dramatic Comedy and Their Social Themes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), p. 112; Margaret B. Pickel, *Charles I as Patron of Poetry and Drama* (London, 1936), pp. 29, 37, 125; and Ashley Thorndike, "Ben Jonson," in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VI, 28 (chap. i). The Queen's interest and influence is cited here merely to indicate the contemporary attention given to the traditions with which Jonson is dealing in the play.

22. The following scenes contain illustrations pertaining to the "courtly love" tradition: Act I, scenes iii, iv, v, vi; Act II, scene vi, ll. 139-260; Act III, ii (the court of love); Act IV, iv (the discussion of valor); Act V, ii, ll. 59 ff. The most interesting treatment of the Platonic doctrine of love in the play may be found in Lovel's examination before the court of love (III, ii, ll. 65, *passim*).

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language of "courtly love" are used throughout the play in the development of the relationship between Lovel and Frances Frampul.²³ Some of the earlier aspects of the "courtly love" tradition have been refined because of the influence of the Platonic doctrine, but many of the basic traditional elements of the system remain.²⁴ Thus Lovel, the forlorn lover, becomes pensive, moody, and melancholy.²⁵ The lady yields favor to the lover slowly and cultivates in him the virtues of patience and perseverance (I, vi, 11. 108 ff.). The lover experiences burning sensations of desire and becomes restless, loses sleep, and sighs in his despair (IV, iv, 11. 257 ff.).²⁶

Jonson also uses effectively the tribunal of the "courtly love" system, the court of love. In this instance, important aspects of the Platonic doctrine of love are employed in conjunction with the court of love. Lovel's disquisition on love before the convened court is based on Plato's *Symposium*, but is conducted in the traditional fashion of courts of love, though the poet has added clever touches of legal phraseology and procedure.²⁷

We have then some evidence of Jonson's use of both the "courtly love" tradition and the Platonic doctrine of love currently popular through the influence of Henrietta Maria. We seek to discover what the poet intends to convey through his development of this matter. It seems to me that he is using it as a part of his scheme of satire in *The New Inn*.²⁸ Certain developments in the play seem to support this contention. The activities concerning the "courtly love" tradition and the Platonic doctrine of love center

23. For a pertinent example, see I, vi, 11. 32 ff.

24. Fletcher, pp. 131-132; Pearson, p. 8.

25. I, ii, 1. 5. See also I, iv, 1. 18.

26. Other elements of the "courtly love" tradition may be located throughout the play. Lovel is loyal to his lady (I, v, 11. 49-56); he must at the same time be humble and remain loyal in spite of a lack of success (I, vi, 11. 100-104); he must be prepared to die for his lady or as a result of his love (II, vi, 11. 232 ff.); and the love affair must be kept secret (I, iv, 1. 19; I, v, 11. 42-47; I, vi, 11. 169-170). In addition, Lovel writes poetry and sends gifts to his lady (I, vi, 11. 104-106), and he receives the beneficent effects of love (I, vi, 11. 84-94). Finally, the lady herself, Frances Frampul, experiences the burning and chilling sensations of love (V, ii, 11. 46-56).

27. See Herford and Simpson, X, 318.

28. For a different point of view, see Linklater, pp. 290-291.

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around the affair between Lovel and Frances Frampul. At the same time, however, these activities are caustically commented upon by other characters in the drama. Both Beaufort and the Host serve as commentators on the idealistic and impractical Lovel and his visionary ideas. Prudence, the maid, serves in a somewhat similar capacity to Frances. Thus Lovel's Platonic discussion of love is contrasted with Beaufort's hardy, down-to-earth commentary on the same sentiment (III, ii, 11. 79 *passim*). Lovel meets much the same type of reaction from the Host when they discuss the former's apparently hopeless love for Frances (I, vi, 11. 95 *passim*). In the beginning Frances is a practical, self-centered woman seeking as many "servants" as possible (II, i, 11. 46 ff.). After Lovel's eloquence terminates her independence, however, she becomes as idealistic as he and quite as involved in the conventions of the "courtly love" system (III, ii, 11. 201 *passim*).²⁹ The final commentary, however, on the Lovel-Frances relationship is given indirectly by the poet himself. The entire courtship is almost without action. It is instead a matter of "courtly love" phrases and lengthy discussions of Platonic love. The only love-making consists of two kisses which are actually the result of the court's favorable interpretation of Lovel's suit. This kind of romance is dull indeed, but it is doubly so when contrasted with the amorous activities of Beaufort and Laetitia who proceed in the normal manner despite the sounding echoes of Platonic disquisition (III, ii, 11. 79 *passim*).³⁰

Moreover, this exposition of the conventional "courtly love" relationship between Lovel and Frances fits in with Jonson's other satiric thrusts in the play at the manners of the times. In fact, there seems to be a sufficient amount of these thrusts to warrant some consideration of *The New Inn* as representative of the poet's earlier and more successful satire in *The Alchemist* and *Bartholemew Fayre*. The Host is often the commentator through whom these observations are made, although Lovel's discussion of valor

29. See also V, ii, 11. 45 ff.

30. In addition to his comments on Lovel's idealistic discussion, Beaufort unabashedly makes love to Laetitia in front of the convened court.

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is made the vehicle for some Jonsonian strictures against the quarrel and the duel (IV, iv, 11. 38 *passim*). The Host comments on the state of education, the pettiness of contemporary science, and the decline of the nobility (I, iii, 11. 126 ff.; I, iii, 11. 52, *passim*; I, i, 11. 24 ff.).³¹ Thus we have on a minor scale, perhaps, in comparison to the best of the earlier plays, a satire of contemporary manners in which the "courtly love" tradition and the Platonic love doctrine play an important part.

Nor was Jonson the first dramatist to exploit these conventions in the drama. He had been preceded in this field by such important poets as Lyly, Shakespeare, Marston, and Massinger. Lyly had been interested in the love debate, a device that Shakespeare later perfected in *Much Ado About Nothing*.³² Shakespeare had also dealt with the "courtly love" tradition in *Troilus and Cressida*.³³ Marston and Massinger had devoted their particular interest to the court of love. Marston in the *Parasitaster* and Massinger in *The Parliament of Love* each used the court of love as a judicial forum in which the culprits of the comedy could be exhibited and punished at the end of the play for their misbehavior.³⁴ The court of love is introduced in the fifth act of each play and seems to be used primarily as a mechanical device to assist in the denouement of the plot. In *The New Inn* the court seems to be an integral part of the dramatic action and serves not only in the development of the Lovel-Frances courtship, but also provides a platform for Lovel's disquisitions on love and valor and a means by which he may win the affections of his lady.

Unfortunately, *The New Inn* has been somewhat neglected by students of Jonson. It is certainly not a great play, but neither is

31. The Host establishes himself as a commentator early in the action of the play. See I, iii, 11. 126 ff.

32. For an example of Lyly's treatment of the love debate, see the discussions between Ramis and Nisa in *Love's Metamorphosis* (III, ii, 11. 1 ff.), *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. W. Bond (Oxford, 1902), III, 310 ff.

33. For the conjecture that *Troilus and Cressida* may be a satire on "the feudal code of love and honour," see F. S. Boas, *Shakspeare and His Predecessors* (New York, 1900), p. 373.

34. *The Works of John Marston*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1887), II, pp. 216 ff. (V, i, 11. 149, *passim*); *The Plays of Philip Massinger*, ed. W. Gifford (London, 1805), II, pp. 305 ff. (V, i, 11. 33, *passim*).

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it altogether a bad one. In appraising the play's merits one should not forget that there is little dramatic action in the normal sense intended in it, at least in the "above stairs" activity. If one may consider the play as a satire on contemporary manners in the Jonsonian tradition, it follows that the "courtly love" matter, the complex disguise plot, and the activities of Colonel Glorious Tipto and the "below stairs" group are all integral parts of a complex satiric purpose. The "courtly love" tradition as interpreted by his contemporaries offered Jonson excellent opportunities for satire. The old poet did not rise to meet the opportunity as successfully as he had in the earlier days, but his pen had not entirely lost its cunning. The treatment of the "courtly love" tradition alone should entitle *The New Inn* to a better fate than has been its lot since its inauspicious reception in 1629.

X

As You Like It and Its Source

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THE SOURCE of Shakespeare's comedy *As You Like It* is Thomas Lodge's novel *Rosalynde*. The majority of critics seem justified in attributing little, if any, of the play to ideas suggested by the anonymous *Tale of Gamelyn*. Certainly the former source is the more significant when the study is to be of Shakespeare's work as an artist.

At a first reading of *Rosalynde*, by Thomas Lodge, it would seem that Shakespeare merely dramatized an existing story. Upon closer examination, however, there are apparent certain changes in the plot structure which are worthy of study.

Lodge's novel is not extremely long, but action drags and conversation is interminable. Lodge begins with the last days of Sir John of Burdeaux (Sir Rowland de Boys) and his reading of the legacy to his sons. Rosader (Orlando) is given the larger share, an action which makes Saladyne's (Oliver) jealousy more natural. In *As You Like It* Orlando is given the smaller share, as becoming a younger son, and Oliver's motive is jealousy of Orlando's popularity. In Shakespeare, then, Oliver's motivation exists in his own nature rather than in circumstances, as Lodge suggests.

Lodge follows this account with three separate skirmishes between Rosader and Saladyne and their respective followers.

Shakespeare begins his play with a statement of the situation given in a conversation between Orlando and Adam. From this conversation the character of Oliver is evident. For the skirmishes Shakespeare substitutes one definite conflict between the two brothers themselves. This quickly establishes the conflict and

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its motivation and minimizes the violence which would have been out of place in a play of this nature.

Lodge spends one-third of his novel establishing the conflict and introducing the characters. Shakespeare has accomplished this naturally and adequately in the first one hundred twenty-five lines of the play. Characters who are not actually on the stage are discussed by others. Charles, the wrestler, tells of Celia's dependence on Rosalind and of the exile of the latter's father.

In *Rosalynde* Rosader merely sees Rosalynde before the wrestling match and the beginning of the love affair is rather precipitate thereafter. In *As You Like It* they have a conversation and Rosalind does not give to her emotion the name of love until she is in the forest.

In Lodge's novel both Rosalynde and Alinda are exiled and go to the forest of Arden. In *As You Like It* Rosalind is exiled and Celia goes with her of her own free will. It will be shown later how Shakespeare uses this in the development of Celia's character.

Adam accompanies (Orlando) into the forest in both versions of the story.

By the end of the second act all of Shakespeare's principal characters are in the forest. At the beginning of the third act the situation is briefly given whereby preparation is made for Oliver's entrance into the forest. Lodge's book is half completed when, after a lengthy story of his incarceration and subsequent exile, Saladyne finally arrives.

In Lodge's novel Rosader tells Gerismond that Rosalynde and Alinda are in exile. This makes it seem quite improbable that the girls are not recognized. Even when Rosalynde, in jest, mentions her actual estate to Rosader, ". . . is it that Rosalynde, of whome wee shepheards have heard talk, shee, forrester, that is the daughter of Gerismond, that once was king, and now an outlawe in the forrest of Arden?"¹ he fails to recognize her. Again, she asks,

1. Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynde, Euphues golden Legacie*, found after his death in his Cell at Silexendra, Bequeathed to Philautus Sonnes, nursed up with their Father in England, Fetched from the Canaries by T. L. Gent (London, 1902), p. 54. (All further references are to this edition.)

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"But where lives Rosalynde now? at the court?"² but Rosader just will not open his eyes. In the play neither Orlando nor the Duke Senior is aware that the girls have left the court, so the lack of recognition is more plausible.

In Shakespeare's third act Rosalind and Orlando meet and the stage is set for the wooing of Ganymede, who is really Rosalind, by Orlando; Touchstone and Audrey fall in love; Silvius woos Phebe, who falls in love with Ganymede. The characters Touchstone and Audrey do not appear in *Rosalynde*. The other situations are presented at great length.

Again tempering the violence of Lodge's novel, Shakespeare does not actually put on the stage the episode of the slaying of the lion by Orlando, but has Oliver give an account of it to Rosalind and Celia. This provides the situation for the charming bit of action when Rosalind faints. This situation in Shakespeare is the beginning of the romance of Celia and Oliver. For this purpose Lodge includes in *Rosalynde* a rather suggestive episode in which Saladyne (Oliver) rescues the girls from ruffians, whereupon Alinda falls in love with him. Shakespeare omits entirely this occurrence which would have been inconsistent with the tone of his play.

Shakespeare also rejects the bedroom scene where Ganimede visits Phoebe when she is ill. This, also, is too suggestive for the comedy of Shakespeare.

When the complications are unraveled, the plots of Shakespeare and Lodge are much alike. Rosalind appears in her own clothes and everyone is happy. In the matter of Celia's father the plots are opposed. The novel ends violently when Alinda's father opposes the forces of Rosalynde's father with an army and is killed. In Shakespeare he furiously enters the forest to put an end to his brother, but

Where, meeting with an old religious man,
After some question with him, was converted³

2. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

3. William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. George Lyman Kittredge (New York, 1936), V, iv, 166 f. (All further references are to this edition.)

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after which he withdraws from the world and returns the crown to his brother. Thus Shakespeare ends the play without giving to Celia the burden of her father's death, but rather the prospect of his change for the better.

It has been pointed out that Shakespeare's deviations from the plot of *Rosalynde* have been made in order to condense the story, to temper its violence, and to keep the same tone throughout the play. These, however, are not the only reasons for changes. There are important variations in the matter of characterization.

Throughout the novel Lodge characterizes the court and its people as base and coarse. In contrast, he shows the country people possessing a purity and refinement unknown to the court. His vile characters Saladyne and Torismond are people of the court. While Lodge allows Saladyne to repent and begin to live a noble life in the clean atmosphere of the forest, Torismond is kept evil to the very last, when he meets his death in a clash between court and country. On the other hand, the country people are walking, speaking ideals of the good life. Coridon (Corin) is a Latin-quoting⁴ philosopher who advises the love-sick Montanus (Silvius). Montanus woos the lady with many love poems and is properly despondent when she fails to reciprocate his affection. At one point his passion is so extreme that he breaks forth with a twelve-line "sonet" in French.⁵ The capricious and beautiful shepherdess, Phoebe, is not to be outdone. She couches her replies to him in poetic language. Her rejection of his suit is filled with classical allusions. "Wert thou (Montanus) as fair as Paris, as hardy as Hector, as constant as Troylus, as loving as Leander, Phoebe could not love, because she cannot love at all: and therefore if thou pursue me with Phoebus, I must fly with Daphne."⁶ Neither is her thinking beneath her speech ". . . for her eye made survey of his excellent feature, which she found so rare, that she thought

4. Lodge, p. 54.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

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the ghost of Adonis had leapt from Elizium in the shape of a swain.”⁷

In Lodge there is but slight difference in the Rosalynde-Rosader-Alinda group and in the shepherds' group. The love affair of Rosalynde and Rosader is parallel to that of Alinda and Saladyne. The romance of Montanus and Phoebe is not one whit lower. The poetry made by Montanus, Coridon, and Phoebe is equal to that of the courtly lovers.

Rosalynde, Alinda, and Phoebe are all given to lengthy soliloquies, any of which, with minor changes, might be substituted for another. Rosalynde says, “. . . when Fortune hath done hir worst, then Love comes in to begin a new tragedie . . . Seest thou not how Venus seekes to wrap thee in her laborynth, wherein is pleasure at the entrance, but within, sorrowes, cares, and discontent?”⁸

Alinda addresses herself in this manner: “See, Alinda, how Fortune and Love have interleagued themselves to be thy foes, and to make thee theyr subject . . . Alate thou didst hold Venus for a giglot, not a goddesse, and now thou shalt bee forst to sue suppliant to her deitie.”⁹

Phoebe is the equal of the royal ladies when she puts her confidence in a letter to Ganimede: “If my fortunes were any thing but unfortunate love, I would strive with fortune: but he that wrests against the will of Venus, seekes to quench fire with oyle, and to thrust out one thorn by putting in another.”¹⁰

Lest we should miss the implication that it is the refining influence of nature that gives such erudition to shepherds, the philosopher Coridon lists the evils of court life:

. . . and for a shepheards life . . . did you but live a while in their content, you would say the court were rather a place of sorrow then of solace. Here . . . shal not fortune thwart you, but in mean misfortunes, as the losse of a few sheepe, which, as it breedes no beggary, so it can bee no extreame prejudice: the next yeare may mend all with a fresh increase. Envy stirres not us, we covet not to climbe, our desires mount not above

7. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 84 f.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

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our degrees, nor our thoughts above our fortunes. Care cannot harbour in our cottages, nor doe our homely couches know broken slumbers: as wee exceed not in dyet, so we have inough to satisfie.¹¹

Cordidon further defends the shepherds' love-making as "preitious in a shepheards eye, as in the lookes of a king, and we country swains intertwaine fancie with as great delight as the proudest courtier doth affection. Opportunity (that is the sweetest friend to Venus) harboureth in our cottages, and loyaltie . . . is found more among shepheards than higher degrees."¹²

Alinda is immediately convinced and decides to stay in this happy place. ". . . thou makest mee in love with your countrey life, and therfore send for thy landlord, and I will buy thy farme and thy flocks."¹³

Shakespeare does not take this attitude that environment determines character. He holds the forest and the court to be no better or no worse than the people who inhabit them. It is true that Oliver (Saladyne) has some very undesirable characteristics at the beginning of the play. That these are not the result of his environment entirely is indicated by the fact that he lives in the same environment which has produced Orlando, Rosalind, and Celia. Furthermore, it is not the purifying air of the country which causes him to reform, but rather the fact that his brother, whom he is seeking to destroy, saves his life.

Duke Frederick, who remains evil in the novel, is not doomed by Shakespeare to be a villain simply because he lives at court. He eventually repents, but his repentance is not due to the influence of nature, but rather to the influence of religion.

Shakespeare further shows us that all is not virtue and beauty because of its distance from court. He adds boors to the gamut of characters. Audrey is a country wench who neither makes poetry nor classical allusions. Moreover, she admits her ignorance: "I do not know what poetical is."¹⁴ She has not the modest, restrained

11. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 55 f.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 54 f.

14. *As You Like It*, III, iii, 17.

grace of Lodge's shepherdess. Even the clown Touchstone says, "Bear your body more seeming, Audrey."¹⁵

Touchstone, the clown whom Shakespeare adds to the story, is not only included because he will amuse the audience, certainly a legitimate reason, but also to poke fun at the shepherds' love-making. He says, "I remember, when I was in love I broke my sword upon a stone and bid him take that for coming a-night to Jane Smile."¹⁶

Contrast this with Lodge's Alinda, who, after breathing the air of the forest for a time, is persuaded that the country life is the only setting for true romance.

While I lived in the court I held love in contempt, and in high seats I had small desires. I knew not affection while I lived in dignitie, nor could Venus counterchecke me, as long as my fortune was majestie, and my thoughtes honour: and shall I now bee high in desires, when I am made lowe by destinie? I have heard them say, that Love lookes not at low cottages, that Venus jettes in robes not in ragges, that Cupide flyes so high, that he scornes to touch povertie with his heele. Tush, Alinda, these are but olde wives tales, and neither authenticall precepts, nor infallible principles; for experience tells thee, that peasauntes have theyr passions as well as princes, that swaynes as they have theyr labours, so they have theyr amoures, and Love lurkes as soone about a sheep-coate as a pallaice.¹⁷

Touchstone brings the conflict between court and country into the open. When he is asked how he likes the shepherd's life, he replies,

Truly, shepherd, in respect of itself, it is a good life; but in respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught. In respect that it is solitary, I like it very well; but in respect that it is private, it is a very vile life. Now in respect it is in the fields, it pleaseth me well; but in respect it is not in the court, it is tedious. As it is a spare life, look you, it fits my humour well; but as there is no more plenty in it, it goes much against my stomach.¹⁸

So Shakespeare scoffs at the much-debated issue.

Shakespeare takes advantage of the characteristics of the pastoral romance in the construction of his plot. Lodge's *Rosalynde* is

15. *Ibid.*, V, iv, 72.

16. *Ibid.*, II, iv, 44 ff.

17. Lodge, p. 125.

18. *As You Like It*, III, ii, 12 ff.

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typical of this type of romance. Love is not an emotion to be felt and experienced, but it is a fashionable attitude of any young man. The object of this "love" is a lady, real or imaginary, who is endowed by her lover with the most charming feminine characteristics. If the lady is imaginary, the love affair consists solely of poems written by the lover for circulation among his friends. If she is real, she, too, may see these gems from his so-called impassioned heart. There is usually an exchange of jewelry—a ring or a necklace. The lady does not soon yield to the entreaties of her lover, and he must be despondent, preferably in poetry, for a long time. In order to win her love he may perform dashing feats of strength. But the ideal way to accomplish his desires is to save his lady's life, whereupon she feels that she belongs to him.

It is readily apparent that each of the three love affairs in Lodge's novel follows this pattern. Rosader's bout with the wrestler is won because he continues to think of Rosalynde, and it is largely for her approval that he defeats the champion. He sees her,

... which glance of Rosalynde so fiered the passionate desires of Rosader, that turning to the Norman hee ranne upon him and braved him with a strong encounter. . . At last Rosader, calling to minde the beautie of his new mistresse . . . rowsed himselfe and threw the Norman against the ground, falling upon his chest with so willing a weight, that the Norman yelded nature her due, and Rosader the victorie.¹⁹

Thereupon Rosalynde gives him her necklace and they are suddenly in love. When both are exiled Rosader is despondent and carves many love-poems on the trees of the forest. Rosalynde is present, disguised, to behold his suffering and to learn of his encounter with the lion. At last she reveals herself and they are married.

Alinda's love affair is motivated when Saladyne rescues her from the ruffians. This was a feat of physical strength comparable to the wrestling bout in Rosalynde's affair. The despondency in this case is caused by the fact that Saladyne is of high birth and she, supposedly, is of low birth. They make many poems of their love. When the truth is at last revealed, they are happily married.

19. Lodge, pp. 23 f.

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Montanus and Phoebe display identical characteristics. Montanus, the rustic swain typical of pastoral romance, woos Phoebe with many poems, but she rejects him for Ganimede, to whom she writes poems. Montanus is love-sick, often poetically. When Ganimede's identity is revealed, Phoebe accepts Montanus.

Lodge's characters are not people. They are names in a pattern. There is no difference in the pattern nor in the quality of the love-making in the three instances.

Shakespeare uses these incidents and the pattern as a basis for his plot, but he treats them in such a way that character is developed and action is properly motivated. To understand how he accomplishes this purpose requires a study of the individual characters in *As You Like It*, both those who have parallels in *Rosalynde* and those who do not.

Celia, Lodge's Alinda, is a sweet, sensitive, dependent girl in the play. The motherless girl has grown up in a court without being surrounded with the parental love which would have given her security. She has a father, to be sure, but a father to her in name only. To her he is the king and her sovereign. Because she is sensitive and has felt no outflowing of love from her father she has been shy and withdrawn in his presence. Perhaps that is the reason he considers her rather unintelligent. He feels no pride in her and so is angered by what he believes her inadequacies. He has admired Rosalind, the spirited child of Duke Senior, whom he has doubtless envied because of the child. When this envy has mounted to sufficient feeling that he is willing and eventually able to banish the Duke, he keeps Rosalind at court. Perhaps he has hoped that his own child will become more like her. Rosalind, with her emotional stability, has been able to give "transfusions of love" to the love-starved Celia. Duke Frederick has considered Celia so mentally inferior that he has not bothered to have her instructed in the manners of the day. Lodge's Alinda knows all about the idyllic love-making, but Shakespeare's Celia does not. In the novel she understands that love is the cause of Rosader's despair. She takes an outstanding part in the courtship of

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Ganimede and Rosader. She is included in the conversations and is one of the party. She talks often with Montanus (Silvius) and shows complete understanding of the love-play. Her own affair with Saladyne is full of poetry and despondency.

In the play Celia says not a word when Orlando meets Rosalind in the forest. She makes only one remark, which she addresses to Rosalind, during the several scenes when Rosalind as Ganymede is courted by Orlando, although she is present practically all the time. She does not seem to understand the situation, as she would surely have done if her education had been adequate. When Silvius is scorned by Phebe, Celia says, "Alas, poor shepherd!"²⁰ She believes that Silvius really deserves sympathy because of Phebe's cruelty, but Rosalind, who understands the love game, rejects this attitude. "Do you pity him? No, he deserves no pity."²¹ Further, Celia's own romance with Oliver has its faint beginning on the stage, but we learn of its progress solely through the conversations of Orlando and Oliver and Rosalind. During the entire last act when she is married there is not a single word from Celia. There is no poetry and no love-sickness.

In the novel the Duke "had appoynted his owne daughter Alinda to be there [at the wrestling match], and the fair [Rosalynde], daughter unto Gerismond, with all the beautifull dammoselles that were famous for their features in all France."²² In the play Celia accidentally learns of the bout through Le Beau and so is present for the sport. Shakespeare's Duke does not take enough interest in his daughter to even inform her of events and certainly does not "appoint" her to be there. It is evident, therefore, that the Duke has considered her unfit for education.

Celia has found a kind of security in Rosalind, but none at all in her father. Charles says of her affection for Rosalind, ". . . the Duke's daughter her cousin so loves her, being ever from their cradles bred together, that she would have followed her exile, or

20. *As You Like It*, IV, iii, 65.

21. *Ibid.*, IV, iii, 66 f.

22. Lodge, p. 19.

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have died to stay behind her.”²³ Yet Celia, by her own admission, did not dare to ask her heart’s desire of her father. She tells him, “I did not then entreat to have her stay.”²⁴

In the novel when Rosalynde is banished, Torismond enters with his daughter, indicating a kind of familiarity. There are very lengthy speeches by both Alinda and her father after which the father exiles Alinda, also. In the play the Duke does not enter with Celia, but he approaches both young ladies. When the Duke banishes Rosalind she speaks eighteen lines in her own defense, but Celia, unused to talking with her father, speaks only eleven lines to defend her friend. She addresses the Duke not as father but as “Dear sovereign”²⁵ and “my liege,”²⁶ which indicate no personal ties. He cuts her remarks short and harshly speaks his mind with no attempt to spare her feelings. Twice he calls her a fool²⁷ and says callously,

And thou wilt show more bright and seem more virtuous
When she is gone.²⁸

She urges banishment for herself, but he ignores her.

Rosalind is quite naturally somewhat distressed at the thought of banishment, but Celia, who has long felt her suppression by her father, is elated at the promise of freedom in her self-imposed exile. She says,

Prithee be cheerful. Know’st thou not the Duke
Hath banish’d me, his daughter?²⁹

Rosalind is rather quiet at this point, but Celia is very talkative in her exuberance. She still feels her need for Rosalind’s help and appeals to her to devise a means of concealing their flight. Rosalind must be prodded this time and Celia, eager to leave, takes the initiative for the only time in the play and suggests that they disguise themselves. Rosalind begins to enter into the spirit of the

23. *As You Like It*, I, i, 12 ff.

24. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 71.

25. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 68.

26. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 87.

27. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 82, 89.

28. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 83 f.

29. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 97 f.

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thing and proposes to dress as a man, further suggesting that Celia take Touchstone, the clown, who has no parallel in the novel. Celia is confident that Touchstone will go, which indicates a close friendship between the two, and it is evident that she has had another ally in the court in addition to Rosalind. This is the only time in the play when Celia seems really happy. She expresses her sentiment,

Now go we in content
To liberty, and not to banishment.³⁰

Once in the forest, according to Thomas Lodge, "Alinda thought of her wonted royaltie."³¹ But Shakespeare's Celia has no desire to return to the court, and her only complaint, even in the face of Rosalind's weary spirits, is that she is tired and hungry. Lodge's Alinda takes the initiative, approaches the shepherd, and offers to buy his cottage and flock, but in the play Rosalind starts the negotiations. Rosalind is used to taking the lead in activities where she and the shy Celia are involved. Celia agrees to the plan, since she is happy to be away from the court where she has suffered such unhappiness.

In Lodge's novel Alinda takes a large part in the scenes when Rosader woos Ganimede. At one place she gaily suggests that she play the priest and marry them.³² Shakespeare's treatment of this episode is very delicate. It is Rosalind who suggests that Celia play the priest and marry them.³³ Shakespeare's artistry here is superb. Simply by changing the person who makes a remark and only slightly changing the words, Shakespeare conveys a whole new world of meaning. Rosalind is aware that Celia is shy and that she knows nothing of the love-game which she is playing with Orlando. Rosalind also knows that it is useless to try to draw her into the game. It seems that she must have made the suggestion in order to bring Celia face to face with reality: Rosalind will eventually marry Orlando and she, Celia, must learn quickly to be

30. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 139 f.

31. Lodge, p. 41.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

33. *As You Like It*, IV, i, 127.

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self-sufficient, for Rosalind will no longer be her security. It is because of this idea that Celia answers, "I cannot say the words." ³⁴ But Rosalind, not in cruelty but in understanding, insists that she do it and starts the speech for her, whereupon Celia hurriedly blurts out the words and is silent until Orlando is gone.

In the novel Alinda makes many references to the forthcoming wedding of Rosalynde and Rosader and expresses delight at the prospect: ". . . ere it bee long, I hope (in earnest) to daunce at your wedding." ³⁵ In the play Celia wants Rosalind to be happy, but she seems rather frightened at the idea of being without someone upon whom to depend.

Lodge's story of Alinda's romance has been previously outlined. She falls in love with Saladyne because he has saved her. Shakespeare gives more motivation to the affair. Celia realizes that she will soon have Rosalind no longer. Oliver enters with his story of how Orlando saved him and of his repentance. It is relatively easy for her to make friends with the brother of her friend's lover, particularly since Rosalind has fainted at the sight of Orlando's blood and attention has been drawn away from Celia. She is unself-conscious; therefore, she does not hesitate to talk to Oliver and ask his assistance with Rosalind. She needs a helper and here he is. The love affair comes naturally.

Rosalind is a strong, capable, ingenious girl who presents no problems. She appreciates the idyllic love then so fashionable and plays the comedienne throughout the play. She has enjoyed a comradely friendship with her father before his exile. She has through him, become a secure, confident young lady, who is stabilized emotionally, except when she first realizes her love for Orlando, and then she is charming in her struggle to regain stability.

In Lodge's novel Rosalynde is given to musing over her love affair in long soliloquies. She makes long poems. Although more spritely than the other characters she does not live. She falls in

³⁴. *Ibid.*, IV, i, 128.

³⁵. Lodge, p. 105.

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love with Rosader without talking to him save briefly at the close of the wrestling match after which she indulges in a passionate soliloquy and madrigal. In the play Orlando and Rosalind talk before the wrestling match as well as after and she does not identify her love as such until after she has seen him in the forest. The affair has more motivation.

In the novel *Rosalynde*, as Ganimede, suggests to Rosader that, since he cannot see the real Rosalynde, he should try to court Alinda. Shakespeare omits this, since Rosalind knows Celia's insecurity and consequent timidity. Such a remark might have wounded the sensitive Celia.

Rosalind understands Celia's insecurity. She appreciates the love games of the shepherds and she joyfully engages in playfully tricking Orlando until she is certain of his affection.

In Lodge Alinda and Rosalynde are counterparts. In the play the lovely, spritely Rosalind is all the more attractive because of her understanding of the weaker Celia, who blooms out in her presence. In Shakespeare Celia does not merely exist as confidante to Rosalind. Both are complete characters. There is motivation for the character of each. Duke Senior, who has found contentment in the forest, is emotionally mature. It is natural that Rosalind should have similar characteristics. Duke Frederick has been unable to find security within himself. He has attempted to find it in his position, taken by fraud and held by the blustering manner which brings about the exile of both Rosalind and Orlando, who are threats to his security. Celia feels this same sense of insecurity, but instead of reacting in a domineering manner she has withdrawn into herself, save when she has an outlet in Rosalind.

Orlando is the typical English younger son of the day. Lodge causes him to take a turn with the wrestler at the instigation of Saladyne, but Shakespeare gives him more character by making this challenge Orlando's own idea. It has been previously shown that his love for Rosalynde in the novel is entirely unmotivated. In the novel when Rosader is victorious Torismond rejoices and

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embraces him. In the play the Duke's joy is somewhat tempered by the fact that he was an enemy of Orlando's father. This helps to put Orlando in our favor, since it puts his father and Rosalind's father in the same category.

Upon entering the forest Lodge's Rosader weakens and must be spurred on by Adam, but Shakespeare's Orlando cheers Adam and is always the man.

In both Lodge and Shakespeare Orlando (Rosader) soon begins to write verses to Rosalind. In the novel these are carved upon trees. Shakespeare makes a concession to the stage here and has Orlando *hang* them on trees. It would be much easier for an actor to carry in several sheets of paper than to act the part of reading the verses off trees, since the stage was barren of scenery.

Shakespeare's Oliver has different motivation than Lodge's Saladyne. Lodge gives Rosader (Orlando) the largest heritage, so we rather sympathize with Saladyne, whose subsequent actions seem justified. In the play Orlando has the smallest inheritance, befitting his age. Oliver's motive is, in the play, jealousy of Orlando's popularity with the people and his handsome appearance. There are several clashes between Rosader and Saladyne in the novel, but these are condensed by Shakespeare into one definite conflict. During these conflicts in the novel Saladyne repents twice, once when Rosader has him at the point of death and once when Adam brings about a reconciliation between the two. When Saladyne later repents after being put in prison we wonder if he is really sincere. Shakespeare avoids this confusion in our thinking by having Oliver's repentance come when his life is saved by Orlando when the former is also in the forest in exile. We feel certain that he means it, since there is no gain for him by so doing.

In Adam Shakespeare creates a lovable old man who is more than a servant. He is also the friend and confidant of Orlando. In Lodge's story Adam brings about the second reconciliation of Oliver and Saladyne. The effectiveness of this omission in Shakespeare has already been shown. In the novel there is another

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clash between the brothers after the wrestling match and Adam enters into a conspiracy with Rosader to outwit his brother. Throughout the action Rosader constantly appeals to Adam for direction. It has already been pointed out how Adam cheered Rosader in the forest. In the play Adam is the beloved old servant, but he does not detract from the role of Orlando. He meets Orlando after the wrestling match to report Oliver's proposed plan, not included in the novel, to burn his (Orlando's) house and destroy him. Adam's loyalty to Orlando is emphasized when he offers to leave the home that has been his since he was seventeen in order to go away with Orlando and when he offers further to give him the five hundred crowns which he has saved from his earliest years with Orlando's father. Orlando's attitude toward this faithful servant gives an added appeal to the character of the young lover.

Shakespeare has added the courtly clown, Touchstone, to create amusing situations produced by a city man in the presence of shepherds and rustics. Audrey and William are genuine rustic boors whom Shakespeare adds to the refined peasantry of Lodge. Jaques, the cynical philosopher, has been added as a contrast to the Duke, the lovers, and the clown, and because the Elizabethan audience was beginning to take great delight in characters of this type. Jaques directly points out the foibles of the lovers:

... the lover
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eyebrow.³⁶

Other minor characters have been added because of dramatic necessity.

Rosalynde is a courtly, euphuistic novel which proceeds in very leisurely fashion. It contains many such passages as the following:

[Rosalynde] returning home from the tryumph, after she waxed solitary love presented her with the idea of Rosaders perfection, and taking her at discovert stroke her so deepe, as she felte herselfe grow passing passionate. Shee began to cal to minde the comlinesse of his person, the honor of his parents, and the virtues that, excelling both, made him so

36. *As You Like It*, II, vii, 147 ff.

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gratious in the eies of every one. Sucking in thus the hony of love by imprinting in her thoughts his rare qualities, shee began to surfeit with the contemplation of his vertuous conditions.³⁷

The novel is interspersed with many lyrics.

Shakespeare discards the euphuism and even makes fun of it through the person of Touchstone:

Therefore, you clown, abandon (which is in the vulgar, leave) the society (which in the boorish is, company) of this female (which in the common is, woman); which together is, abandon the society of this female, or clown, thou perishest; or, to thy better understanding, diest; or, to wit, I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death, thy liberty into bondage. I will deal in poison with thee, or in bastinado, or in steel. I will bandy with thee in faction; I will o'errun thee with policy; I will kill thee a hundred and fifty ways.³⁸

Shakespeare takes advantage of the pastoral atmosphere to include the lyrics in the love-making.

In the words of one critic, "the parts of Lodge's story, then, which Shakespeare has retained are somewhat descriptive and static, rather than dramatic, having about them still the quality of fiction instead of drama. The thing which he got from Lodge is a tale of true love with a charming background rather than a sharply plotted comedy."³⁹

37. Lodge, p. 28.

38. *As You Like It*, V, i, 52-62.

39. Hardin Craig, *Shakespeare* (New York, 1931), p. 305.

XI

A New Look at *Julius Caesar*

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I

JULIUS CAESAR is perhaps the most deceptive of Shakespeare's plays. Its action is so swift yet so straightforward, its poetry is so easy (and so good!) its characters are so dignified and uncomplicated, and there is about it all such a "classic" air of simplicity and clarity—that it never occurs to one to doubt that he understands at any moment exactly what is going on. But when the final lines are spoken, when all the noble Romans retire backstage or within the closed book, and that mood of retrospect and contemplation so proper to the aftermath of tragedy sets in, there comes the shock. For the total meaning which one is so confident he has apprehended intuitively and which he has only to find the proper words for—the grand *gestalt*—simply will not come clear. What does it all add up to? What has the tragedy of Brutus proven, to us or to him? What end has Caesar's murder gained or lost? Are we to rejoice or weep at Caesar's death? At Cassius? At Brutus? What are we to think and how are we to feel? At this point the complexities and subtleties of a *Lear* or *Hamlet* become pellucid by comparison.

At least this has been my own experience, and in a fairly thorough search I have been unable to find any satisfactory answers to the questions above. Answers, yes—but all unsatisfying in some important respect or another. Either they are self-contradictory, or they depend on material not given, or, as in nearly every case, they fail to embrace all the data present. There is the theory, for example, that *Caesar* is a fairly traditional revenge play; this may be called the "Caesar's ghost theory" for it holds that the dominant figure is Caesar and, after his death, his spirit

which relentlessly pursues Brutus to his doom. But the few meagre lines the ghost speaks in its two appearances are mighty unimpressive for a stellar role, and neither in its presence nor elsewhere does Brutus show any sign of the remorse or sense of guilt proper to the conventional Elizabethan murderer. Nor was it customary, I believe, for the agents of revenge (who in this play, incidentally, were out for a good deal more than revenge) to pronounce high eulogy over the corpse of the victims.

At the opposite pole, there is the "Caesarism theory" currently in favor among many critics. Here, too, the spirit of Caesar receives first emphasis, but in a somewhat different sense of the word spirit. It is the spirit of Roman imperialism against which the Republican principles of Brutus strive—in vain, for the old constitution is doomed by economic and indeed historical necessity. This interpretation has been so cogently argued by its eminent supporters,¹ and it is so congenial to our twentieth-century *Zeitgeist*, that a very deliberate act of will is required to keep from accepting it in spite of radical objections. The first of these is *a priori*: the extreme unlikelihood that Shakespeare (considering what we know of his *Weltanschauung*) would espouse the concept of historical determinism, even if he had ever heard of it. But aside from this, there is both too much and too little in the play itself to make this interpretation acceptable: That Brutus is motivated by anti-imperialistic principles I shall attempt to refute at some length below. But that, in any case, the play represents the triumph of Caesarism—absolute rule by the one *führer*—is pretty incredible. To believe it, one must look far beyond this play, which ends with Antony and Octavius agreeably parting the honors of war, and beyond even the reign of Augustus who strove sincerely to keep up the senatorial tradition.

Between these two interpretations is a third, on the whole the most satisfactory or anyhow least unsatisfactory where it dissatisfies. That is the interpretation of *Julius Caesar* as the tragedy of the idealist in politics. Certainly idealism and *realpolitik* are thematic

1. e. g., especially Dover Wilson in his introduction to the Cambridge Edition.

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in *Caesar*, but an explanation of the play, either wholly or even principally, as a conflict between the two, will not stand up. (a) In the first place, the distinction between idealist and real politician is not altogether clear-cut. Even the idealism of Brutus, as Gervinus has pointed out, is not without its taint of vanity, while, on the other hand, "realistic" Cassius is surely not without his ideals; if there is a true blue Republican in the play, it is Cassius. And what of Antony? The Antony of this play (as distinguished from Plutarch's Antony or Cleopatra's Antony) is animated as far as we can see mainly by his love of Caesar. And if it is objected that however noble his ends, his means were ignoble in the extreme, one can only answer that Brutus participated in the murder of his best friend and lent himself in the preliminaries to a most disgusting exhibition of flattery and deceit. (b) Further, it would be incorrect to lay Brutus' failure altogether at the door of his idealism. True, a mixture of idealism and bad judgment led him first to let Antony live and second to let him speak to the people; and his idealism, grown curiously pharisaical, led him to quarrel with Cassius. But it was not idealism that made him decide to march on Philippi, or even necessarily (as some contend) his bad judgment born of self-righteousness born of idealism. For it must be remembered that Brutus *won* his part of the battle and his defeat was due to the premature suicide of "realistic" Cassius.

A good deal more could be and should be said on this subject, but perhaps in what has been said already I have seemed to imply a promise I cannot fulfill. If so, let me disclaim now any pretension to having "the answer." Indeed, there have been moments when I could agree with Dr. Johnson that there is no answer; that the difficulty (according to some critics, the impossibility) of finding a single, fully illuminating theme can only mean "that his adherence to the real story seems to have impeded the natural vigor of his genius."² Of course, the knowledge that by 1599 Shakespeare was an old hand at molding "real stories" to his purpose, and the intuition more compelling than any reason that

2. Samuel Johnson, quoted in the *Variorum*, p. 420.

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Caesar is a superb play, have kept this attitude from prevailing. And, to tell the truth, I do have a notion (which I will offer tentatively and charily at the end of this paper) as to the play's main meaning. But what seems most clearly indicated at this point is a reorientation. And that can be best achieved, I think, not by a consideration of the play as a whole, but by close attention to two of its *cruces* which, long mooted, are in a way responsible for and in a way epitomize the whole problem of the play itself.

II

G. L. Kittredge in the preface of his edition of the play introduces these two sore spots with almost identical understatements:

Caesar's character, as represented by Shakespeare, has evoked much hostile criticism.³

The soliloquy in which Brutus persuades himself to join the conspiracy of assassination (ii, 1. 10-34) has given critics a good deal of trouble.⁴

And since it will be impossible to give a hearing to all voices, and since Kittredge represents the preponderance of scholarly opinion on the subject, it won't hurt to follow his presentation pretty closely for a while, noting any significant demurrs.

The passage about Caesar continues, expressing the perplexities of countless critics:

Is this the conqueror, the wit, the scholar, the mighty organizer whose plans have changed all history—the dead but sceptred sovereign who still rules our spirits from his urn? Was the historical Caesar so antipathetic to Shakespeare that he either could not or would not portray him adequately?⁵

The answers offered to these questions are equally representative of criticism down to the present. Though basically antithetical, they are somehow made to harmonize: 1) No, this is not the historical Caesar, but the "thrasonical Caesar" of Seneco-Elizabethan stage convention; 2) Yes, this is the historical Caesar, but

3. G. L. Kittredge, ed. *Julius Caesar* by William Shakespeare (Boston, 1939), p. xv.

4. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

5. *Ibid.*, p. xv.

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a Caesar "at the very end of his triumphant career . . . drunken with dominion, forgetful of his own mortality."

As to the motivation of Brutus, Kittredge lets Coleridge put the case for the prosecution:

Surely nothing can seem more discordant with our historical preconceptions of Brutus, or more lowering to the intellect of this Stoico-Platonic tyrannicide, than the tenets here attributed to him, to *him*, the stern Roman republican; viz., that he would have no objection to a king, or to Caesar, a monarch in Rome, would Caesar be as good a monarch as he now seems disposed to be.⁶

Of course, Kittredge hastens to expostulate that Coleridge is putting words in Brutus' mouth—that Brutus never for a moment relaxes his role as "stern republican." And a large majority of scholars are in agreement.

As this soliloqy will be central to my discussion, it had best be given here in toto, with the more pertinent passages italicized:

It must be by his death: and, for my part,
I know no personal cause to spurn at him,
But for the general—*he would be crowned*:
How that might change his nature, there's the question.
It is the bright day that brings forth the adder;
And that craves wary walking . . . Crown him!—that!
And then, I grant, we put a sting in him,
That at his will he may do danger with.
Th'abuse of greatness is when it disjoins
Remorse from power: and, to speak truth of Caesar,
I have not known when *his affections swayed*
More than his reason. But 'tis a common proof,
That lowliness is young ambition's ladder,
Whereto the climber-upward turns his face;
But when he once attains the upmost round,
He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, *scorning the base degrees*
By which he did ascend: so Caesar may;
Then, lest he may, prevent. And, since the quarrel
Will bear no colour for the thing he is,
Fashion it thus: that what he is, augmented,
Would run to these and these extremities:
And therefore think him as a serpent's egg
Which hatched would as his kind grow mischievous,
And kill him in the shell.⁷

6. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

7. William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, II, 1, 11. 10-34. The text here is that of the Cambridge Edition.

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Now I believe that a candid reading of these lines, without "historical preconception" will give Coleridge the right—not in his estimate of the speech certainly, but in his understanding of it.

—he would be crowned:

How that might change his nature, there's the question.

What can Brutus mean by this, but what Coleridge says he does? To me, it is impossible to find any republican sentiment in this or in what follows. It is not what a king will do to Rome that Brutus fears, but what kinghood will do to Caesar. It is not, that is to say, monarchy which he is apprehensive about, but a specific monarch. It is not greatness, but "Th'abuse of greatness."

All this seems clear as daylight, and if we accept Brutus' statement at its face value, it will not only clarify what (in this play) he is not, but should also facilitate considerably the recognition of what he is—namely, a very orthodox Elizabethan political thinker.

At least, I believe, that is partly what he is. I believe he is something else, and this will be harder both to explain and accept. Coleridge in his second and even more violent objection to the soliloquy raises the issue:

How, too, could Brutus say that he found no personal cause—none in Caesar's past conduct as a man? Had he not passed the Rubicon? Had he not entered Rome as a conqueror? Had he not placed his Gauls in the Senate? Shakespeare, it may be said, has not brought these things forward—True;—and this is just the ground of my perplexity. What character did Shakespeare mean his Brutus to be?⁹

Now, it must be noted that this is "historical preconception" with a vengeance. First, in that the facts cited, though true and undoubtedly known to Shakespeare, are not, as Coleridge admits, explicit *data* of the play; second, and more important, in that only the historical, republican Brutus would have found them offensive: an Elizabethan Brutus, such as I postulate, would have found these filibusterings of Caesar only the normal maneuvers of a party-leader in a faction-torn state, not high treason of a subversive against established authority.

But Coleridge's objection still has a good deal of force—for there

9. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, quoted in Kittredge, p. xviii.

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are in Caesar—Shakespeare's Caesar—character flaws far more dangerous than any acts he might have committed and so glaring that it is hard indeed to understand how Brutus could not have been aware of them. Brutus, himself, answers the question in part. At the beginning of the play he tells Cassius that he has been worried of late and that personal concerns have caused him to neglect his friends. This may account too for the fact that Brutus, presumably the nearest to Caesar's bosom, is only a spectator at the Lupercalia and not, like Antony, at Caesar's right hand. But I believe we must look further for the real answer. The fact is that Brutus, as the expression is now, "knows" nothing and suspects very little. It is altogether in keeping with his character of naïve idealist that he should be unable to see what is passing under his very eyes. His ignorance of men and motives is almost monumental; his misreading of character is invariable, and the consequences disastrous. Nothing more clearly or more pathetically demonstrates this than the famous lines in his very last speech:

My heart doth joy that yet in all my life
I found no man but he was true to me.

This, after the whole world (i.e., the audience) has seen him brutally double-crossed by Antony and made a pawn of even by Cassius.

But, granting all this, there yet remains one hurdle, the most difficult of all: that Brutus, having no ideological objections to monarchy and knowing no evil of Caesar personally, should be willing to murder his best friend and benefactor on the vague and tenuous grounds

that what he is, augmented,
Would run to these and these extremities:

I'm sure it is the difficulty of accepting this dialectic (which almost out-Gletkins Gletkin) that has driven the critics back upon their "historical preconceptions" and has made them conclude that Brutus, in spite of his very explicit statement to the contrary, is really motivated by an innate republican hatred of autocracy. I can sympathize, but not agree.

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It seems to me that in this soliloquy Shakespeare is doing two things which can be understood and fully accepted only on the dramaturgic level. First he is giving us Brutus' motivation—but it is a motivation far more patriotic than political in its narrow sense. That is to say, he is trying to impress upon his audience that here is a man so devoted to the public weal that he is willing to make the most terrible personal sacrifice (in every sense) for the sake of preventing even the possibility of danger to the state. It is the psychological rather than the logical aspect of the argument that we are intended to grasp in the few moments required for the delivery of this speech.

But the soliloquy has a second and complementary purpose. It underscores—indeed, I shall try to show it programmatizes—the character of Caesar. The way these two purposes—the motivation of Brutus and the character of Caesar—are connected is this: Though Brutus says and says truly that *he* does not *know* any evil of Caesar, he nevertheless enumerates almost methodically evils which he fears and which *we*, the audience, *either know or will shortly find out*. Now in strict logic this may not justify Brutus; but dramatically it does. That is, in a fast moving play, if the hero announces that he will liquidate an ambitious politician not for what he is but for what he may become, and if then the audience clearly sees (whether the hero does or does not) that the politician already *is* what the hero fears, only many, many times worse—in such a case the audience is not likely to quibble with its hero too narrowly: after all, he has acted from the noblest and most unselfish of impulses, and he has acted rightly—i.e., has destroyed a man who needed to be destroyed.

The problems of the motivation of Brutus and the character of Caesar are interdependent. Thus, if my reading is correct, the one can only be justified if at all, by demonstrating radical evil in the other. But before I proceed to this demonstration, before I pounce, as it were, on my victim, I should like to draw back a little *pour mieux sauter*. It will be noted that whether one admits the connection between the two issues or not, undoubtedly they

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have a common origin: viz., "historical preconceptions." Had Brutus and Caesar been wholly Shakespeare's inventions, no such controversy would have developed about them. Controversy, perhaps, but not the present controversy. For it is not Shakespeare's characters qua characters we quarrel with, but the discrepancy in each case between the Shakespeare portrait and the historical original, or, clumsily but more accurately, the discrepancy between what we assume to be an attempted portrait and what we assume to have been the historical original.

I have suggested that what Caesar criticism needs most is re-orientation; I now suggest that the reorientation it needs is a temporary abandonment of the historical (i.e., the Roman) perspective. We shall have to resume it eventually, for Caesar is a "historical" play and its historicity is significant. But for the present it will be of incalculable value to forget that Brutus and Caesar once really lived in Rome, and that one was really thus and the other really so, and to assume instead that they had no existence anywhere except in the lines of an Elizabethan drama created by a man of universal genius, indeed, but of known adherence to the more conservative philosophy of his time.

So far as I know, this "suspension of belief" has never been tried consciously or consistently by any commentator. Even those who justify Shakespeare's treatment of character on purely dramatic grounds ("He played Caesar down so as to play Brutus up")⁹ still cling to the republican Brutus or a Caesar glorious indeed but "at the end of his triumphant career." And some of the best critics will argue for the modernity of one while maintaining the antiquity of the other. MacCallum for example, agrees with Coleridge that Shakespeare does not make Brutus "the mouth-piece of republicanism," but his Caesar is still the haughty Julius. On the other hand, Dover Wilson (though substantially in agreement with MacCallum as to the play's meaning) continues to look at Brutus through Roman spectacles while at the same time seeing

9. Dover Wilson quotes Shan to this effect in his introduction to the Cambridge Edition, p. xxxii.

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Caesar pretty clearly for the Shakespearean creation he is. As a matter of fact, a very different and recent type of "historical pre-conception" mars Wilson's view of Caesar. I mean his association of "Caesar and Caesarism" with the *führers* and secretary generals of the modern totalitarian dictatorship. These terms and his general thesis that Shakespeare diagnosed "the necessity of absolutism for the Rome of Cicero" lead Wilson, I think, into giving Shakespeare's world-view or time-view a distinct Twentieth-Century coloration.

I should like now to avoid both the antiquarian "mighty Julius" stereotype and the futuristic *duce-führer-comrade* stereotype by discussing the character of Shakespeare's Caesar in terms of "modern" Sixteenth-Century political philosophy. I believe that Caesar conforms to a stereotype, right enough, but I believe it is a stereotype far more recognizable to Shakespeare's contemporaries than any so far offered. I mean simply The Tyrant.

Sixteenth Century political thought is not, of course, an isolated phenomenon; it belongs (and strongly adheres to) a remarkably continuous tradition stretching back nearly 2000 years. On two cardinal points there is virtual unanimity from Plato and Aristotle to Erasmus, More, and Elyot: namely that the best form of government is monarchy and the worst is its perversion in tryanny. In his *Institutio Principis Christiani*, Erasmus writes:

Although there are many types of state, it is the consensus of nearly all wise-thinking men that the best form is monarchy. This is according to the example of God that the sum of all things be placed in one individual but in such a way that, following God's example, he surpasses all others in his wisdom and goodness and, wanting nothing, may desire only to help his state. But if conditions were otherwise, that would be the worst form of state. Whosoever would fight it then would be the best man.¹⁰

The *Institutio* is one of the many discourses on statecraft, of which Macchiavelli's Prince is the most famous and least typical

10. Desiderius, Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Lester K. Born (New York, 1936), p. 173. Much of what follows is heavily indebted not only to Mr. Born's translation of this valuable work, but also to his superb introduction in which, with felicitous citation and quotation, he traces the political ancestry of his subject through every century from the 5th B.C. through the 15th A.D.

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example, addressed to some ruler for his instruction and edification. Little in it is original or peculiar to Erasmus; most of it (since it leans so heavily on the common Renaissance heritage) can be found in his friend More, or in Bacon, or Sir Thomas Elyot. Without suggesting that Shakespeare was necessarily familiar with this particular work, I think it may safely be taken in all relevant points, as expressive of the enlightened opinion of the whole age, Shakespeare's included.

Let us look then at the ways in which Erasmus contrasts the true king and the tyrant:

God is loved by all good men. Only the wicked fear Him, and even they have only that fear which all men have of harm befalling them. In like manner, a good prince should strike awe into the heart of none but the evildoers and criminals; and yet even to them he should hold out a hope of leniency, if only they reform. On the other hand, his Satanic majesty is beloved of no one, and is feared by all, especially the virtuous, for the wicked are his appropriate attendants. Likewise a tyrant is hated by every good man, and none are closer to him than the worst element in society . . .¹¹

Let the teacher paint a sort of celestial creature, more like to a divine being than a mortal: complete in all the virtues; born for the common good; yea, sent by the God above to help the affairs of mortals by looking out and caring for everyone and everything; to whom no concern is of longer standing or more dear than the state; who has more than a paternal spirit toward everyone; who holds the life of each individual dearer than his own; who works and strives night and day for just one end—to be the best he can for everyone; . . . Now let him bring out the opposite side by showing a frightful, loathsome beast, formed of a dragon, wolf, lion, viper, bear, and like creatures; with six hundred eyes all over it, teeth everywhere, fearful from all angles, and with hooked claws; with never satiated hunger, fattened on human vitals, and reeking with human blood; never sleeping, but always threatening the fortunes and lives of all men; dangerous to everyone, especially to the good; a sort of fatal scourge to the whole world, on which everyone who has the interests of state at heart pours forth execration and hatred; which cannot be overthrown without great disaster to the city because its malice is hedged about with armed forces and wealth. This is the picture of a tyrant—unless there is something more odious which can be depicted. . . . The main object of a tyrant is to follow his own caprices, but a king follows the path of right and honor. Reward to a tyrant is wealth; to a king, honor, which follows upon virtue. The tyrant's rule is marked by fear, deceit, and machinations of evil. The king governs through wis-

11. Erasmus, p. 15.

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dom, integrity, and beneficence. The tyrant uses his imperial power for himself; the king, for the state.¹²

This lengthy tirade, from which I have quoted only sparingly, emphasizes two main points of difference between king and tyrant; first, that the king rules according to law and reason, while the tyrant rules according to arbitrary will or personal pleasure; second, that the king has the welfare of his subjects at heart while the tyrant is only interested in his own profit. It seems to me these are precisely the two points about which Brutus is chiefly worried in his famous soliloquy—along with a third to which Elyot devotes a whole chapter in his *Gouvernour*, the necessity for a good king to temper justice with mercy. (Indeed the whole soliloquy may be taken as an essay on tyranny—just as Brutus' expression, "Th'abuse of greatness," is an almost perfect Aristotelian definition of tyranny itself.) For Brutus fears that if Caesar is made king he will (1) "disjoin remorse from power," (2) let "his affections sway more than his reason," and (3) that he will "scorn the base degrees by which he did ascend"—i.e., turn his back on the people. And if these fears are well-founded, if Caesar was a potential tyrant rather than true prince, no Elizabethan thinker would have condemned Brutus for the action he took. It only remains therefore to see into which of these categories Shakespeare's Caesar falls. The best way will be to follow him closely through the scenes in which he appears, noting his speech and action, the people he likes and dislikes, etc., and letting the political experts themselves make the pertinent comments.

Act I, Scene 1. Caesar's courtship of the common people is here suggested. It is later confirmed after his assassination by Antony's reading of the will. Erasmus says:

They are also wrong who win the hearts of the masses by largesses, feasts, and gross indulgence. It is true that some popular favor, instead of affection, is gained by these means, but it is neither genuine nor permanent. In the meanwhile the greed of the populace is developed . . .¹³

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

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Act I, Scene 2. We note Antony's habit of obsequiousness and Caesar's evident enjoyment of it. But we will speak of flattery later. Far more important in this scene are Caesar's comments on Cassius:

- Caesar. Let me have men about me that are fat,
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep a-nights:
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.
- Antony. Fear him not, Caesar; he's not dangerous;
He is a noble Roman, and well given.
- Caesar. Would he were fatter! but I fear him not
Yet if my name were liable to fear,
I do not know the man I should avoid
So soon as that spare Cassius. He reads much;
He is a great observer, and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men; he loves no plays,
As thou dost, Antony; he hears no music; . . .¹⁴

Plato, of course, considered the unhappiest aspect of a tyrant's life the men he was forced to surround himself with. And Erasmus says:

Those citizens who are distinguished for their moral character, judgment, and prestige are held under suspicion and distrust by the tyrant. The king, however, cleaves to these same men as his helpers and friends. The tyrant is pleased either with stupid dolts, on whom he imposes; or with wicked men, whom he puts to evil use in defending his position as tyrant; or with flatterers, from whom he hears only praise which he enjoys. It is just the opposite with a king; every wise man by whose counsel he can be helped is very dear to him. The better each man is, the higher he rates him, because he can rely on his allegiance. He loves honest friends, by whose companionship he is bettered.¹⁵

And in his discussion of the proper companions for a young prince, he is even more vehement about "fat men."

That whole crowd of wantoms, hard drinkers, filthy-tongued fellows, especially flatterers, must be kept far from his sight and hearing while his mind is not yet fortified with precepts to the contrary. Since the natures of so many men are inclined toward the ways of evil, there is no nature so happily born that it cannot be corrupted by wrong training. What do you expect except a great fund of evil in a prince, who, regardless of his native character (and a long line of ancestors does not necessarily furnish a mind, as it does a kingdom), is beset from his very cradle by the most inane opinions; is raised in the circle of senseless

14. *Julius Caesar*, I, 2, 11. 192-204.

15. Erasmus, p. 163-164.

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women; grows to boyhood among naughty girls, abandoned playfellows, and the most abject flatterers, among buffoons and mimes, drinkers and gamesters, and worse than stupid and worthless creators of wanton pleasures. In the company of all of these he hears nothing, learns nothing, absorbs nothing except pleasures, amusements, arrogance, haughtiness, greed, petulance, and tyranny—and from this school he will soon progress to the government of his kingdom.¹⁶

In this scene, too, we get a taste of Caesar's boasting, his courtship of the mob, his almost paranoid irritability in the face of frustration, his psychosomatic afflictions. But, if we can believe Casca, something more sinister than all these is revealed: "Marullus and Flavius, for pulling scarfs off Caesar's images, are put to silence." ¹⁷ The following passage on *lèse-majesté* seems applicable:

Therefore, there are no crimes which a good prince will pardon more readily or more gladly than those which affect him alone. Who can scorn such trivial things more easily than the prince? It is easy for him to take vengeance and therefore hateful and unbecoming. Vengeance is a proof of a small weak character; and nothing is less appropriate in a prince, who would be generous and magnanimous.¹⁸

Act II, Scene 2. In this penultimate scene in which Caesar appears, two previously noted characteristics of the tyrant become more and more evident.

(1) Boasting: Caesar reiterates his fearlessness, his indifference to death, his superiority to danger: "Danger knows full well / That Caesar is more dangerous than he. / We are two lions littered in one day, / And I the elder and more terrible: / And Caesar shall go forth."¹⁹ All this is but a prelude to the outrageous *hybris* of his last speeches in the assassination scene, but it will serve to set alongside this passage from Elyot's *Governour*:

Yet is nat Maiestie alwaye in haulte or fierce countenaunce, nor in speche outragious or arrogant, but in honourable and sobre demeanure, deliberate and graue pronunciation, wordes clene and facile, voide of rudenesse and dishonestie, without vayne or inordinate ianglinge, with suche an excellent temperance, that he, amonge an infinite nombre of other personnes, by his maiestie may be espied for a gouernour.²⁰

16. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

17. *Julius Caesar*, I, 2, 11. 26-27.

18. Erasmus, p. 232.

19. *Julius Caesar*, II, 2, 11. 44-47.

20. Elyot, Sir Thomas, *The Governour*, Everyman's Library Edition, p. 121-2.

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(2) Flattery: Throughout the play, Caesar is addressed more in the manner of an eastern despot than a Roman commander. But we see little downright flattery in the sense of fulsome praise until this scene. The flatterer is Decius Brutus and he has explained his technique in the preceding scene:

if he be so resolved,
I can o'ersway him; for he loves to hear
That unicorns may be betrayed with trees
And bears with glasses, elephants with holes,
Lions with toils and men with flatterers:
But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
He says he does, being then most flattered.²¹

This boast, of course, he makes good by reinterpreting Calpurnia's dream to the almost divine glorification of Caesar, who is led like a lamb to his doom. Chapter II of the *Institutio* is entitled: "The Prince must avoid flatterers." Erasmus feels that every prince should be carefully trained to recognize and repudiate flattery and that even capital punishment is not too severe for men who seek to pervert the jewel of the commonwealth, the king. One type of flattery he singles out as particularly pernicious, the kind that disguises itself as candor or even scolding; this is the kind Caesar seems to have succumbed to. In any case flattery and tyranny inevitably go together:

Nowhere do we read of a state which has been oppressed under a great tyranny in which flatterers did not play the leading roles in the tragedy. Unless I am mistaken Diogenes had this clearly in mind. When asked what animal was the most dangerous of all, he said "If you mean among the wild beasts, I will say the tyrant; if among the tame ones, the flatterer."²²

(3) Caprice: But of all that Caesar does in this scene or indeed in the whole play to confirm our suspicions of his true character, his words in the earlier part of his conversation with Decius Brutus are the most damning.

Caesar: And you are come in very happy time,
To bear my greeting to the senators
And tell them that *I will not* come to-day:

21. *Julius Caesar*, II, 1, 11. 202.

22. Erasmus, p. 193.

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Cannot, is false, and that I dare not, falser:
I will not come to-day: tell them so, Decius.

Calpus: Say he is sick.

Caesar: Shall Caesar send a lie?

Have I in conquest stretched mine arm so far,
To be afeared to tell graybeards the truth?
Decius, go tell them *Caesar will not come.*

Decius: Most mighty Caesar, let me know some cause,
Lest I be laughed at when I tell them so.

Caesar: *The cause is in my will: I will not come;*
That is enough to satisfy the senate.²³

This just about tears it. The most important political difference between the king and the tyrant is that the king rules by right and reason, the tyrant by caprice. Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Augustine, Aquinas, Salisbury, Ockleve—all have insisted in the distinction. Erasmus is very much to the point:

But you cannot be a king unless reason completely controls you; that is, unless under all circumstances you follow [the course of] advice and judgment. You cannot rule over others, until you yourself have obeyed the course of honor.

Those expressions of a tyrant, "Such is my will," "This is my bidding," "Let will replace reason," should be far removed from the mind of the prince.²⁴

Act III, Scene 1. We come now to the assassination scene itself. It is worth noting that heretofore the vicious behavior so apparent in Caesar has been unwitnessed by Brutus. Now Brutus is to see with his own eyes what manner of man Caesar is, and, as luck would have it, under conditions which will prove every one of his fears. "How that might change his nature, there's the question. . . Th'abuse of greatness is when it disjoins / Remorse from power: . . . But when he once attains the upmost round, / He then unto the ladder turns his back, . . . scorning the base degrees / By which he did ascend: so Caesar may." All these Caesar puts beyond a possibility of doubt in his final series of speeches. The conspirators have surrounded him on the pretext of appealing for the recall of Publius Cimber, whom Caesar had banished.

23. *Julius Caesar*, II, 2, 11. 60-72.

24. Erasmus, p. 19.

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Here was an opportunity for Caesar to show one of the highest virtues of a good ruler, clemency or mercy. Mercy, says Elyot:

... is and hath ben euer of such estimation with mankynde, that nat onely reason persuadeth, but also experience proueth, that in whome mercye lacketh and is nat founden, in hym all other vertues be drowned and lose their luste commendation.²⁵

Of course, whether Publius deserved a commutation of his sentence is not discussed; the point is that Caesar refuses point blank, and on the most significant grounds. To grant the request of the conspirators would have meant that Caesar, like ordinary men, could change his mind. This obstinacy is especially vicious, of course, in that it is accompanied by a monstrous self-delusion, since we have seen Caesar cajoled and flattered into changing his mind twice in the preceding scene. And here Caesar makes good the complaint of Cassius:

Now is it Rome indeed, and room enough,
When there is in it but one only man.²⁶

And he shows clearly that, now he is nearing the "topmost round," he *has* disjoined "remorse from power," he *does* let "affection rule more than reason," and he is, at the very moment the suitors kneel in vain, "scorning the base degrees by which he did ascend." In short he shows himself the very picture of a tyrant—above his fellow men, above the law, above reason itself. No Elizabethan in the theater could doubt that here was a man ripe for the knife. And none, I believe, could have viewed his ensuing slaughter with anything but complete satisfaction, or could have blamed Brutus for his part in the deed. If Brutus did not know Caesar's character in Scene 1, Act II, he could not have failed to know it in Scene 1, Act III.

III

I wish it could now be said that, granting all my argument, the meaning of the play becomes immediately obvious. Far from

25. Elyot, p. 141.

26. *Julius Caesar*, I, 2, ll. 156-157.

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it. At best, the ground has been cleared for a new reading by the elimination of certain historical and political preconceptions. For Julius Caesar cannot be called a political or historical play in the sense that it either attempts to re-create the grandeur that was Rome or that it underwrites some political thesis like futility of idealism, or the immorality of rebellion, or the inevitability of "Caesarism" in an imperialistic economy. But in the sense that through a historical situation supercharged with politics, Shakespeare has given us a vision of the human predicament, the play is both historical and political. I should like to conclude with a few words on the nature of that vision.

It is significant, I think, that of all the interpretations of this play which I discussed earlier, all possess a high degree of plausibility or potential validity. That is, Shakespeare could so easily have written a play about the inevitability of retribution for murder no matter what the motive, or about the evils of rebellion, or the helplessness of the idealist in practical politics, or the impropriety of applying doctrinaire theory to government, or the futility of opposing the prevailing *zeitgeist*, etc., etc. So far as I know, none of these themes would have been repugnant to him or unworthy of him and certainly none would have been too difficult for him to impose upon the historical material of which this play is constituted, for most of them are indeed latent within the play as it now stands. Yet it is clear to me that on the one hand no one of them explains the play adequately and, on the other hand, taken together they have the effect of neutralizing, if not contradicting one another. In short, almost every tragic pattern to which the Elizabethan playgoer is thought to have been preconditioned is here set up only to be detoured or dead-ended. If Brutus is, according to my theory, the good tyrannicide, it cannot have made the audience very happy to see him fall at the hands of the tyrant's avengers; he should instead have become king like Henry VII who broke the tyrant Richard III. Or, if I am wrong and Brutus is the treacherous assassin, we should have seen him eaten with remorse like Claudius or Lady Macbeth, and his wretched life

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finally brought to a violent conclusion—hardly our picture of the last days of Brutus.

Actually the play is full of submerged irony. On the surface, all is solemn, dignified, Roman. Even “thrasonical Caesar” boasts in high sentence and the style throughout comes closer to what Arnold would call sublime than almost any other play of Shakespeare’s. But underneath are forces at work which seem to mock the dignity and sublimity. Numerous critics have noted, for example, that Brutus is as guilty in his way of hybris and delusions of infallibility as Caesar. This is attributed to the consciousness of his virtue. But what a curious virtue it is! He cannot stoop to bribe-taking or extortion, but he becomes highly incensed when he is refused the money which Cassius has collected in this manner. In his last speech he proclaims himself satisfied with life for he had never met a man who was untrue to him; yet he, himself, has betrayed his best friend and he has in turn been betrayed by Antony. Even more ironic, perhaps, is the most celebrated speech of all, the “noblest Roman” speech. It is spoken of a man whom the same speaker only a hundred or so lines back has called to his face a hound, a flatterer and a traitor. And it is spoken in all earnestness; the characters themselves seem unaware of these discrepancies between the outer and the inner Roman.

Now I do not mean to suggest that Shakespeare’s attitude towards his classic subject matter is cynical. There is a cynic in the play—Casca—but his part is brief and he casts no such shadow as later on Thersites will cast on *Troilus and Cressida*, or the fool on Lear. The attitude here seems a good deal deeper than cynicism. It approaches what we would call nowadays the Existentialist position, for it reflects a profound despair of finding any objective meaning in life. Looked at in one way, the whole situation is nothing but a snarl of cross-purposes and self-delusions. The noble Romans, for all their dignity, serenity, and stoic superiority to circumstance, are ridiculously mixed up in their motivation, and involve themselves in impossible situations from which they are liberated or liquidated purely by chance. Even their most sublime

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utterances are stultified by the circumstances under which they are spoken.

But this is looking at it only one way. When all is said, the fact remains that the way of life here presented does have dignity, solemnity, grandeur. The grandeur may be fraudulent at bottom, but it is grand fraud. This is not saying much, of course, but I believe it is all Shakespeare will allow us to say. He does give us this much choice, of course: in the expression "grand fraud" we may place the emphasis upon the adjective or the noun—which ever seems dominant at the moment.

If this view seems extreme, one fact deserves more attention than it seems to have received: Before *Caesar*, Shakespeare wrote his great chronicle series, culminating with the triumphantly optimistic *Henry V*; after *Caesar* come *All's Well* (a savage title), *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet* . . . We may only guess at the cause of this strange demarche, this sudden plunge into incertitude, suspicion, and despair. It could have been the Essex affair; probably it was something far more personal. But whatever it was, it happened and *Caesar* seems to have happened at just about the same time.

XII

Leigh Hunt's Shakespearean Criticism

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JAMES HENRY LEIGH HUNT, that literary butterfly whose long career as poet, essayist, editor, and friend affected for better or worse the lives of nearly all the major figures of English literature of the early 19th century, probably exerted a more lasting influence on theatrical criticism than on any other genre in which he tried his light but erratic hand. Hunt had an opportunity to view at least twenty-three of Shakespeare's plays and dozens of versions of the more important ones during the long period when he was a critic of the London stage, and his comments on Shakespeare's plays have an interest both critical and historical beyond that of routine journalism.

Hunt's position in the history of Shakespearean criticism is not important by virtue of profound or original interpretations of the plays or characters. But his attitudes provide an excellent picture of the transition from the 18th century's rationally hesitant admiration and the bardolatry of Hunt's contemporaries. Here are two samples of Hunt's criticism which reflect the rapidly changing critical currents:

(*The Winter's Tale*) exhibits so much feebleness of writing as well as violation of probability and possibility that nothing but an imposing scene in which Hermione stands as a statue could render it tolerable to any audience.¹

Whenever one of Shakespeare's play is performed, we are tempted to cry out, "What a divine play is this!"²

In the eleven years between these two comments, Lamb and Hazlitt brought their more deeply grounded impressionism to

1. *News*, November 15, 1807, p. 366.

2. *Examiner*, September 20, 1818, p. 602.

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bear on Shakespeare, and Coleridge gave his famous lectures on the plays.

Other values and interests beyond that of a mirror reflecting the changing opinion of Shakespeare are, however, visible in Leigh Hunt's criticism. Some of his more permanent views strike a balance between narrow reasonableness and uninhibited rapture that gives them an authority beyond either of the schools which influenced him. Furthermore, Hunt's highly stage-oriented approach, one all too infrequent in Shakespearean criticism, brings him to neglected areas in which his talents are admirably suited. In acting criticism, especially, Hunt's writings are as full and as perceptive as those of any other author in the whole library of Shakespearean comment.

Hunt admittedly was not a thorough scholar, although his reviews contain a rather surprising number of references to critics who preceded him. In the *Autobiography* he denies any great familiarity with the printed plays when he says, of his time at Christ's Hospital,

the only play of Shakespeare's with which I was conversant was *Hamlet*, of which I had a delighted awe. Neither then, however, nor at any time, have I been as fond of dramatic reading as of any other, though I have written many dramas myself, and have even a special propensity for so doing; a contradiction for which I have never been able to account.³

Five allusions to Shakespearean characters in the *Juvenilia*, poems published shortly after Hunt left school, show that he was not totally ignorant of the plays. But the special character of his criticism undoubtedly stems partly from the fact that his most important acquaintance with Shakespeare was obtained in the theater.

It was a theater which offered an almost bewildering variety of excellences and defects. Original drama was at one of the lowest points in English theatrical history, and managers groveled to an audience whose common denominator of taste was lowered by the diversion of the upper classes to the opera and the ballet. But

3. *Autobiography* (London, 1903), I, p. 94.

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Hunt also witnessed the decline of Sarah Siddons, the rise of Edmund Kean and William Charles Macready, and a variety of other outstanding figures in a period of generally excellent acting.

Leigh Hunt himself was responsible for the rise of intelligent and independent theatrical criticism during his time. When he began criticizing the London stage for his brother John's *News* in 1805, responsible theatrical criticism was neither expected nor supplied in the newspapers, but by 1832, when Hunt retired from stage writing, good theatrical critics were at least as common as they are today. Although William Archer's categorical nomination of Hunt as "the first theatrical critic"⁴ is an exaggeration, two discriminating contemporaries acclaimed Hunt as the theatrical critic "who first made articles of that nature an indispensable requisite in the papers,"⁵ the man who "gave theatrical criticism a place in modern literature."⁶ Even Hunt's earliest criticisms evidence impartial honesty and vigorous concern for the future of the stage as well as signs of the remarkable taste which made him the first to acclaim Keats, Shelley, and Tennyson as poets of great talent.

These first criticisms also demonstrate Hunt's original relationships with the standard 18th-century commentators on Shakespeare's works. As Herbert S. Robinson has pointed out, "The difference between the criticism of the 18th century and that of the 19th is largely a difference in interests."⁷ Leigh Hunt's early criticisms are often concerned with typical neo-classic problems which Hazlitt and Coleridge barely touched upon. Here is Robinson's list of the Shakespearean issues most important in the 18th century⁸ with comments of Leigh Hunt relating to them, all but one taken from his reviews in the years 1807-8:

4. *Dramatic Essays by Leigh Hunt*, ed. William Archer and Robert W. Lowe (London, 1894), p. vii.
5. John Iliff Wilson, *History of Christ's Hospital* (London, 1821), p. 268.
6. Thomas Noon Talfourd, "Thoughts Upon the Late William Hazlitt," *Hazlitt's Literary Remains* (London, 1835), p. cxxi.
7. *English Shakesperian Criticism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1932), p. xiv.
8. *Ibid.*

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1. Shakespeare's violation of the unities.

. . . the dramatic unities he might reasonably despise. . .⁹

2. The degree of Shakespeare's knowledge of classical practice.

But Shakespeare, though he had not a classical education, was as learned as any man, in the highest sense of the word, by a scholarly intuition. He had the spirit of learning. He was aware of the education he wanted, and by some means or other supplied it.¹⁰

3. His offenses against decorum.

. . . the amatory speeches of Falstaff would have disgraced Petronius himself.¹¹

4. His mixture of tragedy and comedy.

On Shakespeare's love of punning, despair and death had no more effect than on the gaiety of a French wit at the guillotine; and therefore Mr. Tobin must indulge in the same kind of hysterical mirth in the very jaws of rape and murder. But if he had lived to see his play performed, he would have discovered that many of Shakespeare's errors are endured merely on account of his long reputation, for this was the only fault in the *Curfew* which excited the disapprobation of the audience.¹²

5. Violation of poetic justice.

(King Lear) Shakespeare made his play end unhappily because he knew that real nature required such a catastrophe.¹³

6. Representation of noble characters in trivial situations.

. . . if . . . Paulina is firm and dignified in some speeches, what must we think of this noble lady's dignity with the courtiers when she threatens them for attempting to turn her out of the king's apartment?

Leontes. Force her home.

Paulina. Let him that makes but trifles of his eyes

First hand me.¹⁴

7. Carelessness in construction.

. . . To say the truth, *Cymbeline* is not worth its revival, in spite of its occasional beauties. It has so utterly confounded all times and manners that it reminds us of those old stage mysteries, which represented the first Chaos.¹⁵

8. Rhetorical extravagances.

If the profuse wit of *Much Ado About Nothing* is as natural as it is

9. *News*, November 15, 1807, p. 366.

10. *Imagination and Fancy* (New York, 1845), p. 150.

11. *Examiner*, May 1, 1808, p. 283.

12. *News*, February 22, 1807, p. 62.

13. *Examiner*, May 28, 1808, p. 332.

14. *News*, November 15, 1807, p. 366.

15. *News*, September 27, 1807, p. 312.

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lively, the humour throughout, though it appears as broad as mere farce, is rendered equally natural.¹⁶

9. Errors of chronology.

It has been said in defense of the gross anachronisms of this play (*The Winter's Tale*) that Shakespeare knew the dramatic rules very well, but that he chose to follow his story; this, however, merely proves that he suffered his taste to be perverted.¹⁷

Though as much as anything demonstrating Hunt's inconsistency, this list shows him to be more advanced than the most conservative 18th-century critics but not far from the position of Dr. Johnson (except on the catastrophe of *King Lear*). It is an indication of his conservatism that he even bothers to mention the unities, which had been falling into disrepute ever since Farquhar's attack on them and had almost completely lost their position when Dr. Johnson rejected them. As R. W. Babcock has shown,¹⁸ many late 18th-century commentators held opinions much closer to those of the Romantic school than most of those given here.

One other cliché of 18th-century criticism not included here, the idea of the character as a generalized type, was also accepted by young Leigh Hunt. In the *Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Theatres* he speaks of Shakespeare's "fondness for generalizing the character of men" and his "determination to avoid what may be called a chronology of nature."¹⁹ His acceptance of this doctrine may have been a factor in Hunt's general weakness in one of the most important Romantic contributions to the study of Shakespeare—character analysis.

A further indication of the influence of conservative comment on Leigh Hunt's opinion of Shakespeare is in the list of critics whom he quotes in his early reviews. He appears to have known Dr. Johnson well, and he also refers to George Steevens, Professor Richardson, Thomas Warton, Warburton, and the rigid classicist Gildon; he does not mention the names of Maurice Morgann,

16. *Examiner*, January 3, 1808, p. 11.

17. *News*, November 15, 1807, p. 366.

18. *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry, 1766-1799* (Chapel Hill, 1931).

19. London, 1807, p. 85.

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Francis Gentleman, William Farmer, Mrs. Montague, or other critics who were forerunners of the great change in approaches to Shakespeare.

Hunt does not, however, regularly approve of the opinions he quotes from conservative 18th-century critics. As frequently as not he will use Dr. Johnson's dictums as points of departure in beginning his own comments on a play. Of Johnson's complaint that *Julius Caesar* is cold and unaffected, Hunt says

With all due respect to the powers of Dr. Johnson, this is a sorry piece of criticism; it is, at best, like most of his criticisms, only so much gratuitous opinion without analysis, without argument; but at bottom, I am afraid, it is an additional betrayal of his absolute unfitness for poetical criticism.²⁰

Similarly, Hunt says that Johnson's opinion of *King John* is "in the usual spirit of the Doctor's criticism, consisting of assertions very well founded but careless of all proof."²¹ (Echo by George Saintsbury: "The worst that can be said of Leigh Hunt's critical axioms and conclusions is that they are much better than the reasons which support them.")²²

Despite his relationship with neo-classic opinion, it is notable that from the very first Leigh Hunt had typical 19th-century attitudes about two important features of Shakespeare's talent. He always considered the language and versification of the plays one of the triumphs of English and thought that his judgment in artistic and human matters was an indication of the highest genius. In these two areas he advanced beyond Dr. Johnson, expressing opinions in agreement with the most important emphases of the bardolaters.

Hunt was in the habit of deciding whether a play was by Shakespeare simply on the basis of the language of it, and by this test is willing to accept *Two Gentlemen of Verona* into the canon despite his feeling that it is dull.²³ Against Johnson's statement that *King John* was "not written with the utmost power of Shake-

20. *Examiner*, March 29, 1812, p. 204.

21. *Examiner*, June 3, 1810, p. 344.

22. "Leigh Hunt," *Collected Essays and Papers* (London, 1890), I, p. 176.

23. *Examiner*, April 24, 1808, p. 266.

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peare," Hunt says, "Perhaps there is no play of Shakespeare, taken altogether, which exhibits so equable and so elegant a flow of versification."²⁴ In 1817, in his review of Hazlitt's *Characters from Shakespeare's Plays*, Hunt presents a considerably more extended defense of Shakespeare's language from the charge of artificiality.²⁵

Our critic also emphasized another virtue of Shakespeare's which Coleridge was to lay so much stress on—his judgment. Of course a number of late 18-century writers such as Daniel Webb, Mrs. Montagu, Morgann, Gentlemen, and Thomas Whately earlier attacked the idea that Shakespeare was a wild native genius writing great plays almost by instinct.²⁶ Hunt recognized Shakespeare's technical skill in saying that *Much Ado About Nothing* has "all the art and twice the nature of Congreve,"²⁷ and that in *As You Like It*, "Both the wit and wisdom of Shakespeare are seen to great advantage."²⁸ He also used a common defense of Shakespeare's artistic judgment against the evidence of the plays in this comment on Henry VIII:

This is one of the dramas which Shakespeare wrote, not to please himself, but the people; the plot is confused and unconnected, but then there is a procession and a christening.²⁹

Another artistic device demanding previous planning which Hunt emphasized in his discussion of the plays is character contrast. He finds that Hero and Claudio provide foils for Beatrice and Benedick,³⁰ that Sir Toby Belch would be an unpleasant character if he did not have Sir Andrew Aguecheek to throw his few good qualities in relief,³¹ and that *Julius Caesar* is a complete study in the "finest contrast of character":

It is of itself a whole school of human nature. The variable impotence of the mob, the imperial obstinacy of Caesar, the courtly and calculating

24. *Examiner*, June 3, 1810, p. 344.

25. *Examiner*, November 23, 1817, pp. 746-747.

26. Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-130.

27. *Examiner*, January 3, 1808, p. 11.

28. *Examiner*, January 7, 1810, p. 8.

29. *News*, May 4, 1806, p. 406.

30. *Examiner*, January 3, 1808, p. 12.

31. *Examiner*, March 3, 1811, pp. 140-141.

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worldliness of Anthony, the vulgar jealousy of Casca, the loftier jealousy and impatient temper of Cassius, the disinterestedness and self-centered philosophy of Brutus, seem to bring at once before us the result of a thousand different educations, and of a thousand habits induced by situation, passion, or reflection.³²

Here we have a recognition of Shakespeare's human judgment and his artistic skill in design thoroughly demonstrated in concise and accurate sketches.

As the movement to place more and more value on the achievement of Shakespeare grew, Hunt was swept along with it, and he reacts at times like one of the most uncritical idolators of Shakespeare. Some of his rapturous passages, like the essay on "Shakespeare's Birthday" in the *Indicator*, in which he compares Shakespeare to Theocritus, Marcus Aurelius, Horace, Dante, Ariosto, Montaigne, and Wordsworth,³³ may be classified as set-pieces of sentiment rather than criticism. But Hunt also becomes involved with some of the most uncritical of the Romantic notions, such as the idea that the plays demonstrate Shakespeare's personal virtues. Here is one such sentimental speculation which almost justifies Keats' comment, "Hunt does one harm by making fine things petty and beautiful things hateful,"³⁴ and it contains the bubbling egoism which led Hazlitt to call Hunt a coxcomb.

What particularly charms us in the *Merchant of Venice* is the *friendship* —a virtue of which Shakespeare appears to have had an intense feeling. It is not affected with him, nor interested, nor formal, nor at the mercy of circumstances of any sort. We could imagine Shakespeare to be left by a friend, because we can easily imagine persons ambitious to be his friends, and unable from vain or bad qualities of their own to remain so; but we cannot imagine him leaving one himself, or not clinging to him as long as the other desired it, or as long as he had need of it. . . . For our parts, we boast somewhat to our own minds of our enthusiasm for this quality, though perhaps our feeling of it is as inferior to his as all our other qualities are;—but we believe that we possess two or three friends that would have been worthy of him; one, at any rate, we have proved with all good proof; and we could not hear the noble con-

32. *Examiner*, March 29, 1812, p. 204.

33. May 3, 1820, p. 233.

34. Letter from John Keats to George and Georgiana Keats, December 24, 1818; here quoted from Louis Landre, *Leigh Hunt* (Paris, 1936), I, 124.

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clusion of the first scene of the first act, without feeling, in our eyes, unaccustomed but far from unhappy tears. *Esto perpetua.*³⁵

Despite such effusions, Hunt never falls completely under the spell of the Romantic enthusiasm for Shakespeare. He occasionally was able to correct his betters, as in his review of the *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, in which he calls Hazlitt to task for a too-pat comparison:

We do not think, that when he says "Romeo is Hamlet in love," he is so happy as in saying that the play in general is "Shakespeare all over, and Shakespeare when young." Hamlet, we conceive, had a greater preponderance of the thinking faculty in him than Romeo; or rather, Romeo would not have given up Ophelia to brood exclusively over his father's death and to dally with the punishment of his uncle. His animal faculties were in as full perfection as his mental; whereas, though Hamlet always appears to us a most elegant and handsome person, we suppose something over-delicate of his constitution.³⁶

This comparatively late discussion of Hamlet sounds much like that of Coleridge and Goethe, the Hamlet of the "Romantic heresy." Hunt may have accepted it because he had no better to provide in its place, but as a young man such of his comments as "that amiable inconsistent, who talked when he should have acted and acted when he should not even have talked,"³⁷ indicate that he was more impressed by the complexity of the character than by its melancholy inaction.

Hunt was generally opposed to the other most prominent "Romantic heresy," the belief that Shakespeare was better read than seen in the theater, though some of his comments on the question are a little confusing.

In his first criticism of Hamlet, Hunt says that the part is too difficult for almost any actor, and in his latest theatrical essays he repeats the assertion, "We never yet saw a Hamlet on the stage, nor do we expect to see one,"³⁸ Of Falstaff he says, "Now easy as this character appears to sustain . . . we never remember a Falstaff well performed, and we have seen it undertaken by all

35. *Examiner*, July 20, 1817, pp. 456-458.

36. *Examiner*, November 23, 1817, p. 747.

37. *Critical Essays*, p. 41.

38. *Tatler*, October 22, 1830, p. 167.

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sorts of actors, stuffed and unstuffed." ³⁹ Here it is not a question of Shakespeare's stage-worthiness, but simply that the stage was not capable of doing the dramatist justice.

In his review of Kean's Lear, Hunt seems to move even closer to Lamb's point of view:

Mr. Kean's performance of Lear is undoubtedly better than any other actor's is likely to be with whom we are acquainted . . . But we are exceedingly sceptical as to the powers of the actor to represent such a mind as Lear's, just as we are in the case of Hamlet. The acting faculty is not a thing sensitive enough.

So far the opinion is like that he held about Hamlet. But the criticism goes on:

An actor who performs Lear truly, should so terrify and shake the town, as to be requested never to perform the part again. If he does this, he does it well. If not, he does not do it at all.

Apparently the audience is no more capable of bearing a perfect performance of the play than the actors are of giving it to them. And then Hunt presents an unusual defense of Shakespeare for writing such a play:

In Shakespeare's time, the scenery, dresses, &c. were so unlike anything real, and the public came so much more to hear the *writing* of the thing than to see the acting of it, that it was comparatively another matter.⁴⁰

In other words, *King Lear* as written is so eminently suitable for the stage that advances in stagecraft could increase its dramatic effectiveness to an absolutely intolerable height. Long after, in *Imagination and Fancy*, Hunt came closer to the non-actability heresy,⁴¹ but as a playgoer and theatrical critic he supported the stageworthiness of the plays.

His support of Shakespeare also extended to a demand for the return of the plays as written. His objection to the still-played Nahum Tate version of *King Lear* is long and extremely sarcastic (though he conceded that the Fool was unnecessary),⁴² and

39. *Tatler*, October 4, 1830, p. 103.

40. *Examiner*, April 30, 1820, p. 253.

41. *Imagination and Fancy*, p. 151.

42. *Examiner*, May 28, 1808, pp. 331-333.

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he said of the revised version of the sepulchre-scene in *Romeo and Juliet*:

Who it was, of all the meddlers with this exquisite play, from Otway to Garrick, that thought proper to introduce into the catastrophe the addition made by Luigi da Porta, by which Romeo survives the poison long enough to talk with Juliet when she wakes, we know not; but as we are certain it ought not to have been made, if for no other reason than reverence for Shakespeare, so it strikes us as an addition which he himself would not have made, had he copied from da Porta instead of some other writer. The incident is certainly very striking and affecting; it is only too much so, and without any necessity: . . . It would have been natural, we think, to Shakespeare's exquisite judgment as well as feelings to see this; and after the strings of a fond heart had been snapped, not to let it be set up again for this savage gratuitous blow.⁴³

This battle has long been won, and its arena was the stage rather than the library, but it is to Hunt's credit that he was on the right side early.

In the analysis of character, Hunt's specialty is swift delineation, sometimes almost caricature, rather than fully-rounded portraits. His acquaintance with Shakespeare primarily from the theater here prevents him from making the close exegeses of other Romantic critics, but this same stage-orientation also gives him an advantage. Faced with the subtlety of a Hamlet, Hunt is vague or confused, but his descriptions of lesser characters are often excellent sketches of those qualities which come clearly across the footlights from the performances of good actors. Although we may feel that Hunt oversimplifies when he discusses only two facets of Macbeth's character—thoughtfulness and madness—⁴⁴ or says that Hotspur is easy to act because the character is only loud and violent,⁴⁵ a gallery of his other descriptions will demonstrate one of the best features of Hunt's Shakespearean comment:

(character of Imogen) Its simplicity, strengthened but not injured by a spirit of enterprise that proceeds from feeling rather than contrivance . . . (character of Posthumus). It is one of Falstaff's heroes "in buckram," but it should be a hero full of gallant courtesy as well as

43. *Examiner*, April 5, 1818, p. 219.

44. *Examiner*, January 15, 1809, p. 44.

45. *Critical Essays*, p. 26.

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dignity, a man new from the polish of a Court and graced with all its flexibility of manner though losing nothing of his inflexibility of mind.⁴⁶

The ordinary stage conception of Falstaff's character is the right one, if actors could but act up to it . . . a blowing, swaggering, chuckling, luxurious, fat-voiced "tun of a man" . . . forever mirthful and shameless, making a jest of danger in the apprehension and anxiously getting out of it when it comes, but above all things witty and festive, unable to admit care or give it, making his moral enormities appear as natural and jovial a part of him as his fat.⁴⁷

Coriolanus, though a haughty patrician, was after all a soldier, whose friends found excuses for his unaccommodating temper and style of language in the rudeness of military habits. He could look grand on grand occasions, as in the instance of his sudden and godlike appearance at the hearth of Aufidius; but then the circumstance constituted its own grandeur. At other times, especially in his reluctant applications to the people for the consulship, and still more so in the impatience he expressed on that subject to his friends in private, we suspect he was intended to be more short, impatient, and familiar; always haughty indeed, but more plain and soldier-like in his haughtiness, with less of the graceful ungraciousness of the patrician.⁴⁸

It has always struck us as a curious thing in the play of Henry the Eighth that Shakespeare should have drawn so plain and uncompromising a portrait of that bullying tyrant, that he should have exhibited him not only in all the plenitude of his will, but in what may be styled the corpulence of his whole character (for his mind was as bloated as his body) and in all the vulgar homeliness of his personal manners, down to the very familiarity of his huffing phrases.⁴⁹

When Shakespeare fancied his Ophelia, and represented her with that amiable mixture of reserve and frankness that constitutes the charm of female manners, when he painted her as the lady, the sister, the daughter, and the fond mistress, each with its own charm and its united charm, when he gave us that beautiful picture of a delicate mind disturbed not distorted into madness, that insanity full of genius and patient anguish, in which the chords are tangled not snapped, in which the last weakness of nature has not destroyed her strength of mind nor the last suffering her thoughts of her father, he little thought that such a female and such a picture could ever degenerate into a mere singing girl, a mere opera debuntante . . .⁵⁰

Such sketches of Shakespeare's characters which may be found throughout Hunt's criticisms appear not as cold literary analysis, but as an attempt to instruct the actors of the living stage in their duties toward the roles. From his earliest criticisms, Hunt

46. *News*, September 27, 1807, p. 312.

47. *Tatler*, October 4, 1830, p. 103.

48. *Examiner*, December 5, 1819, p. 783.

49. *Tatler*, October 25, 1831, p. 204.

50. *Examiner*, September 25, 1808, p. 619.

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recognized that the stage of his time was more interesting for its actors than for anything else; his only book on the drama was the *Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Stage*. Neither Hazlitt nor Lamb nor any subsequent theatrical critics have excelled him in criticism and description of the transient art of acting.

Despite his own infectious enthusiasm about the theater, Hunt was never carried away by public adulation of any of the acting sensations of his time, was often in a cool minority about the actor who was the current rage of London. He never liked Master Betty, the child actor, was almost cruel to John Philip Kemble, found Edmund Kean "nothing but a first-rate actor of the ordinary, stagy class"⁵¹ in some of his performances (Hunt was in jail for libel at the time Kean's London debut was glowingly reported by Hazlitt), and could never understand the excitement about Fanny Kemble. Furthermore, in the field of acting more than in any other department of criticism, Hunt buttresses his opinion with accurate descriptions which prove him right.

These descriptions of particular bits of acting are often excellent little lessons for thespians. Blessed as few newspaper critics since his time have been with ample space for anything he wanted to say, Hunt's analyses of actors may never again be equalled for fullness, and they will not often be equalled for liveliness. Here are two of his detailed comments, the first on Charles Mayne Young's Macbeth, the second on Fanny Kemble's delivery of one of Juliet's speeches:

His apostrophe to the imaginary dagger was impressive, but it wanted, what I never saw given to it, a variety of countenance approaching to delirium; and he spoke its first lines with his face turned away from Duncan's chamber door *directly toward* the side scenes: this appears to me an erroneous position; his face should at least have been a three-quarter one, for to give a most impassioned expression in profile only, except in cases which absolutely require it, is to cheat the audience of the full fancy of the scene.⁵²

She begins it well enough, rises into ordinary declamation as she pro-

51. *Examiner*, February 26, 1815, p. 140.

52. *Examiner*, January 15, 1809, p. 44.

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ceeds, and finishes by uttering the last words with a lingering solemnity and a shake of the head! "And pay—no worship—" (*shaking her head*)—"to—the—gaarish—sun." How then should she repeat it? Why, rather than in this manner, with a joyous tone throughout; with an undiminished hilarity; with her heart dancing in her eyes; nay, even with an enthusiastic pacing down the stage lamps, looking the audience rapturously in the face, as if she breathed out her soul to the air and to all nature . . . Juliet takes no pity on the poor sun; she simply merges it in the idea of the greater sun, her lover, who includes all nature in her eyes, and who must spangle the universal canopy to others as he does to herself. It is the breath of her boundless transport; a hymn to love and rapture; and she lavishes on it all the fine thoughts she can, just as she would deluge her lover himself with pearls and gold.⁵³

In this kind of comment on a detail of performance, Thomas Noon Talfourd decided, "thus just and picturesque, Mr. Hunt has never been approached."⁵⁴ And even in a more general summary, Hunt has the ability to describe a performance in words which immortalize its otherwise ephemeral effect:

We have admired Mrs. Siddons, been infinitely amused with Lewis, been sore with laughing at Munden, been charmed with Mrs. Jordan, but we never saw anything that so completely held us suspended and heart-stricken as Mr. Kean's Othello. In all parts it is as complete as actor can shew it,—in previous composure of its dignity, in its soldier-like repression of common impulse, in the deep agitation of its first jealousy, in the low-voiced and faltering affectation of occasional ease, in the burst of intolerable anguish, in the consciousness that rage has hurt the dignity and ruined the future completeness of its character, in the consequent melancholy farewell to its past joys and greatness, in the desperate savageness of its revenge, in its half-exhausted reception of the real truth, and lastly in the final resumption of a kind of moral attitude and dignity, at the moment when it uses that fine deliberate artifice and sheathes the dagger in its breast . . . Mr. Kean's Othello is the masterpiece of the living stage.⁵⁵

Any actor essaying the part of Othello would do well to paste this quotation on his mirror.

Although we can find no startling new interpretations or any profound exegeses of Shakespeare's plays in the theatrical criticism of Leigh Hunt, his comments have a sympathetic enthusiasm and an unerring accuracy in description of the broader effects which

53. *Tatler*, October 5, 1830, p. 107.

54. Talfourd, *loc. cit.*

55. *Examiner*, October 4, 1818, p. 632.

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give them a unique value. Most of Hunt's other activities have justly been relegated to footnotes in books about his more famous friends, but the theatrical criticism, especially that dealing with Shakespeare as he is and ought to be viewed across the foot-lights, has a permanent usefulness to Shakespearean historians, critics, and performers.

XIII

The Misunderstood Dreams in the Plays of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries

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DESPITE THE widespread occurrence of dreams in ancient and medieval literature—in the classical epics and plays, in the visions of the medieval mystics, in the courtly poetry of love, in the romances, and sometimes in satire—and despite the Renaissance interest in the psychology of dreams, surprisingly little use of dreams is made in the non-dramatic imaginative literature of Shakespeare's day. It is true that the tradition of *The Mirror for Magistrates* continued the dream conventions. There are dreams and dream references, though not as many as one might suspect, scattered through the writings of Spenser and Sidney and the other poets; such works as Dekker's *Lanthorn and Candle Light* continued the use of the vision framework for satire. But the dream is of minor importance in most forms of Elizabethan literature.¹ In the drama, on the other hand, it flourished,² developing from insignificant beginnings into an established element of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramaturgy, and contributing in characteristic ways to the patterns of the drama.

A few Elizabethan plays contain dreams which, following the example of the Greek and Roman poetic classics, appear as objective and personal entities, coming to the dreamer usually through the conventional gates of horn and ivory.³ Characteristically, how-

1. See the dreams listed in Max Arnold, *Die Verwendung des Traummotivs in der englischen Dichtung von Chaucer bis auf Shakespeare* (diss. Kiel, 1912).

2. See Arnold, *Die Verwendung des Traummotivs*; Jürgen Struve, *Das Traummotiv im englischen Drama des XVII Jahrhunderts* (diss. Kiel, 1913).

3. For example, John Lyly, *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, I, i, 168 ff. in *Complete Works*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902); Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, I, i, 81-83, in *Works*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Oxford, 1901); George Chapman, *All Fools*, III, i, 13-15, in *The Plays and Poems*, ed. Thomas Marc Parrott (London, 1910-1914).

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ever, the dreams which are related or discussed in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries are conceived in terms of Renaissance psychological theory; indeed, from the pages of the drama alone it is possible to reconstruct the Elizabethan conception of the nature of sleep and the source and significance of dreams.⁴ Since the dramatists must speak through their characters and within the context of the dramatic action, the comments upon dreams are necessarily fragmentary, but they conform to the fairly consistent system of belief which underlies the surface vagaries of Renaissance psychology. Most types of dreams are recognized and classified quite properly by the characters according to this system. The prophetic dreams, however, which appear frequently in the histories and tragedies, are regularly greeted by false or misleading explanations of their nature and significance. These are the misunderstood dreams of the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama.

Like Elizabethans in general, the dramatists believed and often explicitly stated that dreams are the product of the fancy or imagination,⁵ that faculty of the mind whose primary function is to preserve and recombine images which have been apprehended by the external senses. The identification of dreams with the imagination is significant, for according to Renaissance psychology the imagination is the faculty which serves as a link between the rational soul of man on the one hand, and the sensitive and vegetative, or irrational, souls on the other—and between the powers of apprehending (common sense, memory, reason) and the appetites and passions. Through the imagination, that is, the rational soul may be influenced by experiences and passions arising from the bodily nature of man, and both thought and action depend to some extent upon the activity of the imagination. Francis Bacon reflects the belief of his age when he says in *The Advancement of Learning*,

4. See Carroll Camden, Jr., "Shakespeare on Sleep and Dreams," *Rice Institute Pamphlet*, XXIII (1936), 106-133.

5. See, for example, Lylly, *Sapho and Phao*, IV, iii, 44-46; Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Woman Hater*, in *Works*, ed. Arnold Glover and A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905-1912), X, 98. Cf. Camden, "Shakespeare," pp. 121-122.

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It is true that the Imagination is an agent or *nuncius* in both provinces, both the judicial and the ministerial. For Sense sendeth over to Imagination before Reason have judged: and Reason sendeth over to Imagination before the Decree can be acted; for Imagination ever precedeth Voluntary Motion.⁶

As products of the imagination, dreams may be influenced by the mental or physical constitution of man; and they may exert a powerful influence upon human conduct.

In dreaming, the imagination is moved to activity by a variety of secondary causes, in accordance with which dreams may be divided into two types: first, those which arise from within the dreamer himself, from the physical constitution of his body—often from the dominant humor—or from the thoughts and desires of the waking mind; and second, those dreams which arise from the action upon the human imagination of external, supernatural forces, either divine or demonic. This fundamental dichotomy of Renaissance theory is expressed as clearly in the anonymous play *The Wisdome of Dr. Dodypoll* as in any Renaissance treatise upon dreams.

My lord, know you there are two sorts of dreams,
One sort whereof are onely phisicall,
And such are they whereof your Lordship speakes;
The other Hiper-physicall, that is
Dreames sent from heaven or from the wicked fiends,
Which nature doth not forme of her owne power
But are extrinsecate, by marvaile wrought;
And such was mine.⁷

Other general classifications differ somewhat in emphasis. The medieval and Renaissance physicians recognize three types of dreams, two natural and one supernatural: *somnium naturale*, dreams arising from the humours and spirits of the body; *somnium*

6. *Works*, ed. James Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath (Boston, 1860-1865), VI, 258. See Murray Wright Bundy, "Shakespeare and Elizabethan Psychology," *JEGP*, XXIII (1924), 519-524; Lila Ruth Anderson, *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays*, University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Iowa City, 1927), pp. 80, 133-134; Lily Bess Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes, Slaves of Passion* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 51 ff.; Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady* (East Lansing, Mich., 1951), p. 3.

7. *A Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1884), III, 122. Cf. Lyly, *Mother Bombie*, III, i, 49 ff.; III, iv, 94-95. This is also the dichotomy of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Secunda Secundae*, Q. 95, Art. 6.

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animale, dreams arising from the natural operation of the impressions stored in the imagination; and *somnium coeleste*, dreams resulting from the influence of heavenly powers.⁸ The Renaissance theologians, on the other hand, classify dreams as natural, diabolical, and divine.⁹ In all classifications the fundamental distinction between natural and supernatural dreams is recognized.

The "phisicall" or natural dreams in the plays are ordinarily understood quite clearly by the characters, although the references are often casual and incomplete: a scholar's reply to the question whether he has fearful dreams, "Sometimes, as all have / That go to bed with raw and windy stomachs";¹⁰ a lady's recognition that after a light supper she will not be troubled with dreaming of her French suitor,¹¹ a carefree but, by Renaissance standards, accurate summing up, "Your dream by night, your thought by day."¹² More extended discussions may be pedantically explicit like the lectures in *The Wisdome of Dr. Dodypoll*,¹³ or they may be both sprightly and informative, like Hotspur's troubled dreams of "iron wars"¹⁴ or like the many accounts of lovers who lie down to fitful slumber and who are happy only in their dreams of their beloveds.¹⁵ Almost always in these discussions of natural dreams the interpretation by the characters is correct, and often the characters are led to a fuller understanding of the physical or mental nature of the dreamer.

Since the natural dreams are explained clearly and accurately in terms of contemporary beliefs, it is surprising, at first notice, that the "hiper-physicall," or supernatural, dreams, usually prophetic

8. Walter Clyde Curry, *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences* (New York, 1926), pp. 207, 264. Cf. Camden, "Shakespeare," pp. 125 ff.
9. See, for example, Thomas Adams, *Works* (Edinburgh, 1862), II, 14; William Perkins, *Works* (London, 1631), I, 203.
10. Fletcher, *The Pilgrim*, in *Works*, V, 93.
11. Chapman, *Sir Giles Goosecap, Knight*, I, ii, 39 ff.
12. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit at Several Weapons*, in *Works*, IV, 99.
13. *Plays*, ed. Bullen, III, 122. Cf. Chapman, *The Revenge of Bussy D' Ambois*, V, i, 41-53.
14. *Henry IV, Part I*, II, ii, 50 ff., in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. Hardin Craig (New York, 1951).
15. See Blunt, *Master-Constable*, III, i, 100 ff., in *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1885-1886); Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, IV, iv, 8-10; Jonson, *The Case Is Altered*, V, i, 1-4, in *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1925-1947).

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foreshadowings of the outcome of the play, are consistently ignored or misinterpreted. The reason for this practice cannot be ignorance on the part of the dramatist, for in sixteenth and seventeenth century England the theories concerning the supernatural dream were as well known, if not as widely accepted, as those concerning natural dreams. Almost everyone recognized the power of God to impress a knowledge of the future upon the mind of man through dreams, though some questioned His use of that power in contemporary times;¹⁶ many writers believed also that demons possessed the power to shape men's dreams, either through the direct control of the imagination¹⁷ or through the manipulation of the humours and animal spirits;¹⁸ and a few enthusiasts speak of prophetic dreams which arise through astrological influence upon the sleeping mind.¹⁹ The dramatists' decision to ignore this body of information must have been deliberate and for a purpose.

The conventional tendency to deny the supernatural source and ignore the significance of prophetic dreams is found in *Apicus and Virginia* (1575) where perhaps the first truly prophetic dream in the Elizabethan drama is referred to as "an old wives tale,"²⁰ and there is hardly a prophetic dream in the drama for the next forty years which is not explained away as a thing of little consequence, either by the dreamer himself or by someone to whom the dream is related. Characteristically the dreams are dismissed

16. Even such a doubter as Thomas Nash, *The Terrors of the Night*, in *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904-1910), I, 368, admits that in exceptional instances God may speak through dreams to great men.

17. For a typical and popular statement of this view, see Peter de la Primaudaye, *The French Academy* (London, 1618), p. 546 [mispaged—should be 556]. See also Leonard Vair, *Trois Livres des Charmes, Sorcelages, ou Enchantemens* (Paris, 1583), p. 150; George Gifford, *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcrafts*, ed. Thomas Wright, The Percy Society (London, 1842), p. 66.

18. See, for example, La Primaudaye, *The French Academy*, p. 145; Benedict Pererii, *De Magia, de Observatione Somniorum, et de Divinatione Astrologica* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1612), pp. 179-181; Adams, *Works*, II, 15. The power of demons to move the imagination, directly and indirectly, is discussed in Walter Clyde Curry, *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (Baton Rouge, 1937), pp. 75-76.

19. Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy or Magic* (trans. in London, 1651), ed. Willis F. Whitehead (Chicago, 1898), p. 184; Paracelsus, *Hermetic and Alchemical Writings*, trans. A. E. Waite (London, 1894), pp. 289, 301; Bacon, *Works*, VI, 255-256. Cf. Camden, "Shakespeare," p. 124.

20. *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. Robert Dodsley (1744), revised W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1874-1875), IV, 138.

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as altogether natural and therefore inconsequential products of the imagination or fancy, as in the following typical comments upon dreams which later prove to be true prophecies of the future.

Feare not, my Lord, dreams are but fantasies,
And slight imaginations of the brayne.

And for his dreams, I wonder he is so fond
To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers.

Dreams flow from thoughts of things we most desire
Or fear, and seldom prove true prophets; would they did!

'Tis but thy emptiness that breeds these fancies.

'Twas but fancy
That troubled ye, here's nothing to disturb me.²¹

These explanations are plausible, according to Renaissance theory, in that they employ the concepts and sometimes the terms of the accepted psychology of the day; but they are also fragmentary and, in the particular situations in which they occur, false. They emphasize the nature of man as the source of all dreams, while ignoring the almost equally accepted and authoritative view that the source of dreams might, upon occasion, be supernatural.

Why were prophetic dreams consistently ignored or misinterpreted in the drama? The answer lies in their nature and function. Ordinarily the meaning of the prophetic dream is not presented in straightforward, specific terms; it is more likely to be merely suggested, or veiled in symbols. For, example, when in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* the Soothsayer prophesies the ultimate victory of the Romans—

Last night the very gods show'd me a vision—
I fast and pray'd for their intelligence—thus:
I saw Jove's bird, the Roman eagle, wing'd
From the spongy south to this part of the west,
There vanish'd in the sunbeams; which portends—
Unless my sins abuse my divination—
Success to the Roman host—²²

21. *The History of King Leir*, Malone Society Reprints (1907), lines 1481-1482; Shakespeare, *Richard III*, III, ii, 26-27; *Albumazar*, in *Ancient British Drama* (London, 1810), II, 50; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Bonduca*, in *Works*, VI, 144; *The Lover's Progress*, in *Works*, V, 108.

22. IV, ii, 346-353.

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the prophecy proves true in a surprising manner: although the battle is won by the Britons, Cymbeline's decision is to yield tribute to the power of Rome. Undoubtedly this prophecy proved confusing to the audience as well as to the characters of the play. Usually the meaning of the prophetic dream is reasonably clear to the audience, though it is rejected by the dreamer or by the person to whom the dream refers. The dream of Woodstock's Duchess in *Richard II* or *Thomas of Woodstock* is of this type. The Duchess dreams allegorically that her husband is set upon by a lion leading a pack of wolves and that, since he is defended only by a flock of silly sheep, he is slain.²³ To reader or audience the dream clearly foreshadows Woodstock's murder by order of the King, but he rejects the warning with the comment that "all dreames are contrarye."²⁴ Similarly, in both Heywood's *The Iron Age* and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, Andromache's troubled dreams of disaster would have been immediately recognized by the audience as supernatural warnings, although Hector dismisses them as "deceptionous" and foolish superstition.²⁵ Throughout the drama of Shakespeare's day, dreams which prophecy almost invariably prove to be true revelations of the future, and the audiences surely knew it, despite the conventional naturalistic explanations which were offered.

Arden of Feversham's allegorical dream of his imminent death contains the typical elements of the prophetic dream in the Elizabethan drama, though it is at once more veiled and more explicit than most.

This night I dreamt that, being in a park,
A tail was pitched to overthrow the deer,
And I upon a little rising hill
Stood whistly watching for the herd's approach.
Even there, methought, a gentle slumber took me,
And summoned all my parts to sweet repose;
But in the pleasure of this golden rest

23. Malone Society Reprints (1929), lines 2000 ff.

24. Other examples of prophetic dreams which are dismissed as "contrary" are found in Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, V, i, 1-9; *Julius Caesar*, II, ii, 75 ff.

25. Thomas Heywood, *The Dramatic Works* (London, 1874), III, 316; Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, V, iii, 62 ff.

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An ill-thewed foster had removed the tail,
And rounded me with that beguiling home
Which late, methought, was pitched to cast the deer.
With that he blew an evil-sounding horn,
And at the noise another herdman came,
With falchion drawn, and bent it at my breast,
Crying aloud, 'Thou art the game we seek!'
With this I woke and trembled every joint.²⁶

The allegory of the dream is easily interpreted by the audience. Arden's murder later in the play is actually very similar to the trapping of a deer in the forest by hunters, and the two foresters correspond to the cutthroats whom Arden's wife and her lover have hired to commit the murder. Unlike most dreamers in the plays, Arden suspects that the source of his dream may lie outside his own mind, but his fears are allayed by a friend's conventional reassurance.

To such as note their nightly fantasies,
Some one in twenty may incur belief:
But use it not, 'tis but a mockery.²⁷

The message of this dream, which makes no lasting impression upon Arden's mind and does not affect his conduct, is directed by the dramatist not to Arden or to any character in the play, but to the audience alone. In serving its dramatic purpose of foreshadowing, without influencing, the future action of the play, the dream becomes an effective instrument of dramatic irony. This is the characteristic function of the prophetic dream in the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. Again and again dreamers, like Arden, resolutely reject the truths which have been revealed to them but which are understood only by the audience.

This same function is sometimes performed by prophetic dreams in which the audience is permitted to enter into the imagination of the dreamer and perceive upon the stage the figures which are present in his sleeping mind. In perhaps the earliest of these visually represented dreams upon the Elizabethan stage, there appears

A Dumbe Shew (*representing the dream of Endimion*) *Musique sounds*
Three Ladies enter; one with a Knife and a looking glasse, who by the

26. *Arden of Feversham*, ed. Ronald Bayne (London, 1897), III, iii, 6-20.

27. *Ibid*, III, iii, 38-40.

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procurement of one of the other two, offers to stab Endimion as hee sleepes, but the third wrings her hands, lamenteth, offering still to preuent it, but dares not.

*At last, the first lady looking in the glasse casts downe the Knife.
Exeunt.²⁸*

Another vision which follows seems relatively unrelated to the plot, but this dream suggests the general outlines of the ensuing action. A much more typical example of the dream which is represented upon the stage occurs in the scene in Shakespeare's *Richard III* in which identical ghosts appear to Richard and to Richmond on the night before the battle at Bosworth Field. To the Elizabethan audience the dreams would surely have appeared as supernatural manifestations; but Richmond speaks merely of his "sweetest sleep and fairest boding dreams," and Richard, although he cannot completely shake off the terror which "shadows" have struck to his soul, attributes the dream to a pang of conscience.²⁹

Endimion's dream, as suggested by the introduction of the spectacle, is no more than a dumb show, already familiar to the Elizabethan audience; and despite the fact that the ghosts speak, the dreams of Richmond and Richard, like other visually represented dreams in the drama,³⁰ are clearly similar to the dumb shows, whose purpose was to suggest, usually in a symbolic manner, the later action of the play. Indeed, toward the end of the sixteenth century, as the dumb shows were absorbed into the play and came to be used primarily for exposition rather than for foreshadowing,³¹ much of the symbolic and prophetic function of the early dumb shows was taken over by dreams, whether represented upon the stage or related by the dreamer. The dreams differ, of course, from the earlier dumb shows—from those found in *Gor-*

28. Lyly, *Endimion*, II, iii, 58 ff. For an interpretation and discussion of this dream see Bond's note in Lyly, *Works*, II, 592.

29. V, III, 118 ff. Cf. Holinshed in W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed* (New York, 1907), p. 413. In *The True Tragedy of Richard III* (1594), Malone Society Reprints (1929), lines 1874 ff., these warnings are related by Richard, and the ghostly figures do not appear on the stage.

30. See, for example, Robert Greene, *The Historie of Orlando Furioso*, IV, ii, 1145 ff., in *The Plays and Poems*, ed. J. Churton Collins (Oxford, 1905); Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Body*, in *Works*, I, 228-229; Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, V, iv, 146-151.

31. See Frances A. Foster, "Dumb Show in Elizabethan Drama before 1620," *Englische Studien*, XLIV (1912), 16-17.

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boduc or *Jocasta*, for example, where the dumb show precedes and suggests the plot of each act—in that they do not attempt to outline the complete development of the plot, but focus attention upon the crux of the action.

There is another, more important difference. The dream is superior to the dumb show as a conventional foreshadowing device because it does more than merely suggest the future action of the play. A recurrent element in the tragedies of Shakespeare's day and in the plays based upon real and legendary history is the sense of the nobility of man and the certainty of his fate, which arises not only from the audience's foreknowledge of the general outcome of the play but from the feeling that there is some supernatural power which influences human destiny. The prophetic dreams, surely recognized by the audience as supernatural in origin, emphasize this sense of nobility and inevitability, usually without affecting the action of the play in any significant way. The conventionally plausible misinterpretation of the dreams by the characters is designed to explain their failure to comprehend and be guided by the intimation of future events which has been committed to the audience by the dream. The misinterpretation of the dream serves, moreover, to emphasize the dramatic, and tragic, irony of man's inability to recognize his fate even when it is, symbolically, revealed to him.

XIV

Shakespeare's Attitude Toward Travel

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MUCH HAS been written about whether Shakespeare ever traveled beyond the confines of his native England. In the light of the evidence—or rather the lack of it—the conclusion that he did not is more plausible than that he did. Yet the question of the good and evil of travel, along with the advantages and disadvantages of the active and the contemplative life, was much argued in Shakespeare's time. Men like Ascham and Stubbes issued grim warnings to their contemporaries about the evils of travel; whereas men like Nashe, Greene and Sidney, both by precept and example, were strong advocates of travel. Since Shakespeare also had ideas on the subject, some clarification of his attitude is needed.

Born in rural Stratford and introduced to the complexities of life in London in his twenties (when most young gallants would already have been capping off their university training with a year of travel), Shakespeare seems to have found that metropolis dukedom large and adventurous enough. Then, as now, travel was both perilous and expensive, and a young man in Shakespeare's position, without money and without influence at the court, was not likely to get the Queen's permission to go to distant places. For whatever else travel in Elizabethan times was, it was not vagabondage, and many a young courtier brought his parents to the verge of bankruptcy by touring the Continent or by going no farther from home than London. Shakespeare, on the other hand, seems to have favored the philosophy of comfort and plenty just short of luxuriousness. Such a taste sorts well with the thesis that, once he was in London, the young man from Stratford stayed on

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the job of writing plays and (as he had Iago advise) putting money in his pocket. Like his own Autolycus, snapper-up of unconsidered trifles, Shakespeare no doubt reveled in the gossip of returned travelers who swaggered in the streets and taverns of London. At times their adventures and tall tales must have made him feel cabined, cribbed, and confined by his own narrow provincialism, but at others he must have felt that, with imagination, one can be bounded in a nutshell and still account himself a king of infinite space. Naturally something of both attitudes found trumpeters in his plays. Yet if what Shakespeare had his characters say about the disadvantages and advantages of local travel and travel abroad is not quite what he himself would have said more directly about such conditions, it is still valid if due allowance is made for who says what and the thread of a character's verbosity is drawn out no finer than the staple of his argument. In a word, then, for Shakespeare's attitude toward travel the plays are the thing that will best serve as a mirror to reflect the man.

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As every traveler knows, some of the most difficult trips can be very short trips. When Shakespeare speaks of this kind of travel, he usually sounds a note of realism that is lacking in his discussions of travel in the far-flung places of the world. The song "When Icicles Hang by the Wall" could hardly have been written by a person who had not traveled over country roads in sixteenth-century England "When blood is nipp'd and ways be [foul]."¹ Incidentally, not even the Queen herself was exempt from the hardships of short journeys, for the newfangled coach in which she rode on her many "progresses" to her courtiers' country places had a way of breaking down in the most desolate and muddy

1. *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, ii, 926. See also *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV, 2. All references to the plays are to the W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill edition, *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (Boston, 1942), which adheres to the line numbering of the *Globe* edition. Some explanation is necessary here regarding the apparent contradiction in application of the terms "local" and "foreign" travel. Obviously all sea travel and travel of a romantic and exotic nature come under the head of foreign travel, but some of the more realistic and English aspects of travel in *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Winter's Tale*, for example, are included under local travel.

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spots and upsetting the Queen's timetable and temper. Horseback travel also had its disadvantages. In *The Taming of the Shrew* Grumio gives a stirring account of the honeymoon trip of Petruchio and Katharina to their country house "Out of the saddle and into the dirt."² The commentary concludes with "how her horse fell and she under her horse . . . how miry a place, how she was be-moil'd, and how he left her with the horse upon her."³ By a crackling fire Grumio could look back upon such an experience and laugh as loudly as the rest of the servants of Petruchio's household, but at the time of the mishap it was hardly a laughing matter.

Sometimes, however, travel experiences were provocative of neither laughter nor smiles—except through tears. Falstaff, for example, who said that he was not only witty in himself but "the cause that wit is in other men," could also be the cause that pathos is in other men. Memorable is the occasion when Falstaff first heard that Prince Hal was to be crowned king. "Away, Bardolph." he shouts, "saddle my horse . . . we'll ride all night. . . . Boot, boot, Master Shallow! I know the young king is sick for me. Let us take any man's horses; the laws of England are at my commandment."⁴ Both memorable and ironical is the outcome, when the mountain man Falstaff, "stained with travel and sweating with desire to see him,"⁵ stood outside Westminster Abbey, like any commoner at such a procession, and complains because he—a man of importance—was "sweating with desire to see him; thinking of nothing else, putting all affairs else in oblivion, as if there were nothing else to be done but to see him."⁶ Then came not Prince Hal, but the King of England. To see a Falstaff of the highest expectations become a Falstaff forever banished from the royal presence in a matter of seconds is one of the most pathetic experiences in all Shakespeare's plays.

Fortunately, journey's end was not always thus. Usually the

2. IV, i, 59.

3. *Ibid.*, i, 75.

4. *2 Henry IV*, V, iii, 127.

5. *Ibid.*, v, 25.

6. *Ibid.*, v, 26.

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chief strain of travel was not mental but physical. The complaints that travel was both muddy or dusty and filthy are many, but those that point up its wearisomeness are a consistent refrain. Grumio says, "Was ever man so beaten? . . . Was ever man so weary?"⁷ Again, Celia says to Rosalynde, "I pray you, bear with me; I cannot go no further," and old Adam gasps, "I can go no further. O, I die for food!"⁸ Finally, in addition to the various other allusions to travel-weariness is that of Kent in *King Lear*, who philosophizes: "I have watch'd and travell'd hard; / Some time I shall sleep out, the rest I'll whistle."⁹

Nor were mud and weariness the only drawbacks to local travel in Shakespeare's time. Roads and highways were infested with rogues, robbers, and murderers. Among such a motley crew Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale* is as authentically Elizabethan as any rogue and rascal that Dekker, Greene, or Nashe ever reproduced. Probably as a young man on the road from Stratford to London, Shakespeare had witnessed with other fellow travelers just such a bundle of rags as this Autolycus, who put on his show of epilepsy in order to rob the crowd. But not always was a thief a thief in rags. Knight that he was, Falstaff was party to a robbery at Gadshill, which, though it provided amusement for Prince Hal (who restored the money to rightful owners), had little relish of salvation in it. Thus men of importance and men of no importance preyed upon the unsuspecting wayfarer. Worse still, though, were hireling murderers like those who did Banquo to death and would likewise have served Fleance, had he not been more nimble-footed than his father. Like Banquo, many another traveler must have paid with his life in those times for walking too late.¹⁰

If travel in England, as elsewhere, had had only the disadvantages of bad roads and bandits and murderers, Shakespeare might never have written "and no man ever loved." But the countryside

7. *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV, i, 2.

8. *As You Like It*, II, iv, 9 and vi, 1.

9. II, ii, 162.

10. For Autolycus's trick see *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iv; the robbery at Gadshill, *I Henry IV*, II, ii; Banquo's murder, *Macbeth*, III, iii.

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was often a glorious birth, and new scenes and new experiences were both restful and provocative of profound emotions that mellowed with memory. Even the Machiavellian gloom of *Richard III* is relieved at a meeting in the Tower of London (of all places) by Gloucester's recalling the Bishop of Ely's luscious strawberries and saying,

When I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there.
I do beseech you send for some of them.¹¹

Not only the sense of taste but also those of sight and hearing are an aid in recalling the pleasures of travel, which sometimes dates far back into the past. For example, Master Shallow, now given to telling tall stories of his rakish escapades when at Clement Inn, grows eloquent at the prospect of good fellowship and brown ale:

Ha, cousin Silence, that thou hadst seen that that this knight [Falstaff] and I have seen! Ha, Sir John, said I well? ¹²

And Falstaff answers:

We have heard the chimes at midnight, Master Shallow.¹³

Thus recalling the happenings of some fifty years ago awakened the aesthetic side of the physical man Falstaff and started the midnight chimes ringing all over again.

Sometimes the aesthetic feelings of a character are heightened by the irony of the situation. Though Duncan was travel-stained, weary, and unaware that he was soon to pay with his life for the visit to Macbeth's castle, he reveled in the enchantment of its externally peaceful atmosphere:

This castle hath a pleasant seat; the air
Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses.¹⁴

And Banquo, also lulled into a false sense of security, observes:

11. III, iv, 33.

12 and 13. 2 *Henry IV*, III, ii, 225-229. The brackets are mine.

14 and 15. *Macbeth*, I, vi, 1-10.

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This guest of summer,
The temple-haunting [martlet] does approve,
By his loved [mansionry], that the heaven's breath
Smells woongly here; no jutty, frieze,
Buttress, nor coign of vantage, but this bird
Hath made his pendent bed and procreant cradle.
Where they [most] breed and haunt, I have observ'd
The air is delicate.¹⁵

This triumph of the nobler emotions does not necessarily nullify the importance of Gloucester's taste for strawberries or of Master Shallow's and Falstaff's respective visual and auditory memories. They are all of a piece with that fine excess which has given us Oberon's "bank where the wild thyme blows, / Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,"¹⁶ or Perdita's "daffodils, / That come before the swallow dares, and take / The winds of March with beauty."¹⁷ Of imagination all compact, they are the beauty that is its own excuse for being and the good that is in everything.

.

Except for *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and the chronicle plays, in most of which Shakespeare deliberately set himself to the task of teaching the English people their own history, he eschewed the British setting. Among foreign places are Ephesus, Navarre, Verona, Padua, Athens, France, Rome, Mantua, Venice, Massina, Forest of Arden, Illyria, Rousillon, Paris, Florence, Marseilles, Vienna, Troy, Denmark, Cyprus, Roman Empire, Corioli, Antium, Antioch, Tarsus, Pentapolis, Tyre, Mytilene, Sicilia, and the Sea and an Island (possibly Bermuda). Oddly enough, there are few repetitions of location. Most of the plays have only one setting (often with surroundings); some have two, three, or four, and *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Pericles*, respectively, have the Roman Empire and various countries. All have specific scenes except *The Tempest*, which is located at Sea and on an Island. As is well known, Elizabethan play settings were sometimes dictated by the fact that a rival theater was having a great success with, for example, a Roman play, but for the most part

16. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 249.

17. *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 118.

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it seems that the idea that far-away places would lend an exotic flavor or that they would give to the theatergoers the illusion of travel suggested many of the settings. Since Shakespeare's art transcends anachronism nobody seemed to be disturbed about the fact that the customs, manners, and dress of all places and ages were very much like those of Elizabethan London.

Naturally travel conditions in all the far-away places named in the plays were little different from conditions in England plus, of course, the hazards of the sea. It is an interesting fact, though, that of all the Shakespearean characters that go down to the sea in boats and meet with terrible storms none lose their lives by drowning—they somehow always turn up later.¹⁸ This is a remarkable record, for in at least seven of Shakespeare's plays storms at sea play an important part, especially in separating characters. As Cassio in *Othello* says, "The great contention of sea and skies / Parted our fellowship.—But, hark! a sail,"¹⁹ and as usual, everybody is safe. Again, in *The Merchant of Venice* Antonio's life hung in the balance because his cargoes were given up as lost at sea, but eventually all arrived safely. Even more remarkable is the manner in which Ægeon and one each of the twins in *The Comedy of Errors* become separated from his wife and one each of the twins by shipwreck at sea and years later are discovered safe and sound. In *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Pericles*, and *The Tempest* are equally terrible but equally harmless storms at sea. And so it goes. Shakespeare's tempests are hard on the nerves, but easy on the *dramatis personae*.

It is not surprising that Shakespeare, an Englishman, should have been affected by the sea and the brave new world that Cabot, Drake, Raleigh, and Frobisher explored and Richard Hakluyt publicized. With human nature and everything else seeming born again, it was only natural that Gonzalo in *The Tempest* should say,

When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em

18. The reference in *Twelfth Night*, I, ii, 10, to "those poor number sav'd with you" need not imply that any were actually lost at sea.

19. II, i, 92.

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Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men
Whose heads stood in their breasts?²⁰

In a world where there were Calibans and Ariels nothing was surprising. Indeed the stage had already been set. In Verona had not the noble Valentine been captured by gentleman bandits, who made him their leader? Thus in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* bad men could be good men—and *vice versa*, for the gentle Proteus had ungentle designs on the beautiful Silvia. And in no more remote a place than the Forest of Arden miraculous things could happen. A huge snake could coil itself around Oliver's neck as he slept and a greedy lioness could couch herself ready for the prey, and the wicked Oliver suffer not a scratch, especially if a good brother like Orlando happen that way to suffer the scratches. About the most and least that can be said about the wild animals of Shakespeare's plays is that some were romantic and some were not. Take the Bohemian bear in *The Winter's Tale*—he came right out of the woods and in savage mood grabbed Antigonus and tore him to pieces. Of course Antigonus was up to no good. He ought not to have been party to the plan of disposing of little Perdita, whom the bear left unmolested. Then as now, romance seems to have been enhanced by distance.

Foreign travel or local, it made no difference in one respect: it exhausted the traveler's physical resources. In old folks it made for stiffness in the joints. Antipholus in *The Comedy of Errors* protests that "with long travel I am stiff and weary" and commands Dromio to "Get thee away."²¹ Nor must it be forgotten that Oliver was travel-weary, else he would never have become the apparent victim of the snake and the lioness. But for Prospero's magical powers Alonzo and his counselor Gonzalo might have been the victims of Antonio, the usurping Duke of Milan, and Sebastian, the brother of the King of Naples. Says Antonio to Sebastian:

Let it be to-night;
For, now they are oppress'd with travel, they

20. III, iii, 43.

21. I, ii, 15.

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Will not, nor cannot, use such vigilance
As when they are fresh.²²

Among the disadvantages that the traveler sometimes incurred as a result of going abroad was one that not he but his associates had to suffer from: his affectations of manners, speech, dress, and the melancholia of foreigners. Shakespeare, like Ascham and Stubbes, seems to have found particularly obnoxious the Italianate or the Spaniolated Englishman. King Ferdinand of Navarre in *Love's Labor's Lost* characterizes the fantastical Spaniard Don Adriano de Armado as

A man in all the world's new fashion planted . . .
One who the music of his own vain tongue
Doth ravish like enchanting harmony;
A man of complements, whom right and wrong
Have chose as umpire of their mutiny.²³

And Holofernes says of him, "He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too peregrinate, as I may call it."²⁴ Of Falconbridge, the young baron of England, Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* says, "He is a proper man's picture, but, alas, who can converse with a dumb-show? How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere."²⁵ Likewise Rosalynde twits the melancholy Jaques, "Farewell, Monsieur Traveller. Look you lisp and wear strange suits, disable all the benefits of your own country, be out of love with your nativity and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are, or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola."²⁶

That these trends toward excesses were more serious than one might at first think is evidenced by the fact that Henry VIII passed sumptuary laws to control the eating, drinking, and apparel of those returning from travel on the Continent. Thus Sir Thomas Lovell tells the Lord Chamberlain in *Henry VIII* about

22. *The Tempest*, III, iii, 14.

23. I, i, 165.

24. *Ibid.*, V, i, 14.

25. I, ii, 77.

26. *As You Like It*, IV, i, 33.

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the new proclamation
That's clapp'd upon the court-gate. . .
The reformation of our travell'd gallants,
That fill the court with quarrels, talk, and tailors.²⁷

To this the Lord Chamberlain answers,

I'm glad 'tis there: now I would pray our monsieurs
To think an English courtier may be wise,
And never see the Louvre.²⁸

That the abuses continued long after that proclamation and others like it were issued is evidence of the fundamental weakness in legislating a people's morals.

Along with these external fads was another, a supposedly internal and incurable humor known as melancholia. Jaques calls it

a melancholy of mine own, compounded of many simples,
extracted from many objects; and indeed the sundry
contemplation of my travels, in which my often
rumination wraps me in a most humourous sadness.²⁹

And Rosalynde observes,

A traveller! By my faith, you have great reason to be sad. I fear you have sold your own lands to see other men's; then, to have seen much, and to have nothing, is to have rich eyes and poor hands. . . . I had rather have a fool to make me merry than experience to make me sad; and to travel for it too!³⁰

To attribute this disease to travel, as Jaques seems here to do, is hardly fair, but since Sidney, Dyer, and Greville were serious, if not melancholy, travelers and courtiers, their many admirers probably popularized and exaggerated the trend. Certainly by the time Hamlet was on the stage and John Ford was "deep in a dump" the melancholy type was well known to Elizabethans as the symbol of sophistication and world-weariness.

Not all the by-products of foreign travel, however, were on the debit side. Quite the contrary, even Shakespeare knew that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil, / Would men observingly distil it out." So with travel. It could mean profit from merchandise and the comforts of life that Shakespeare seems to have prized. As

27 and 28. I, iii, 17-23.

29 and 30. IV, i, 16-30.

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King Claudius said when he realized that Hamlet must be shipped off to England,

Haply the seas and countries different
With variable objects shall expel
This something-settled matter in his heart,
Whereon his brains still beating puts him thus
From fashion of himself.³¹

Similarly, Helicanus advises that Pericles escape the wrath of Antiochus by travel—

travel for a while,
Till that his rage and anger be forgot
Or till the destinies do cut his thread of life.³²

Next to health and safety come prosperity and happiness. Ægeon, merchant of Syracuse in *The Comedy of Errors*, says that “our wealth increased / By prosperous voyages I made / To Epidamnum.”³³ Lucentio in *The Taming of the Shrew* says that his father was also “A merchant of great traffic,” but that his own ambition was to study philosophy and all the arts—so a rich wife like Bianca would stand him in good stead.³⁴ No less an opportunist was Petruchio, who, as a man of considerable wealth, wanted “Happily to wive and thrive as best I may”³⁵—the object of his choice being the wealthy but shrewish Katharina. On the other hand was Bassanio, impecunious man about town, who says,

In Belmont is a lady richly left . . .
Her name is Portia, nothing undervalu'd
To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia. . . .
O my Antonio, had I but the means
To hold a rival place with one of them [her suitors],
I have a mind presages me such thrift,
That I should questionless be fortunate!³⁶

It must be remembered that Gratiano went along too and by arrangement with Nerissa (Portia's lady in waiting) made it a double wedding. Thus with travel and an eye for business many

31. *Hamlet*, III, i, 179.

32. *Pericles*, I, ii, 106.

33. I, i, 40.

34. I, i.

35. *Ibid.*, ii, 56.

36. *The Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 161. The brackets are mine.

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a young gallant was able to prosper in the days of Good Queen Bess.

But what use would Shakespeare have made of travel in other lands, if he had ever left his sceptered isle? Unlike some of his own dramatic creations, he was no merchant of great traffic nor did he go far to find the woman of his choice; yet he has left some clues as to how to improve oneself by travel in strange places. Shakespeare, it might easily be surmised, would not have liked to be held down to the enforced itinerary of a tourist party. A scene between Antonio and Sebastian in *Twelfth Night* when the two travelers first enter the Illyrian city reads like a transcript from real life. Sebastian asks,

What's to do?
Shall we go see the reliques of this town? ³⁷

Antonio answers,

To-morrow, sir: best first go see your lodg^{ing}.³⁸

Here are the two types of travelers, but they settle their differences amicably. Sebastian satisfies his "eyes / With the memorials and the things of fame / That do renown this city."³⁹ And Antonio, recalling that he had once "got in bad" in this city, betakes him to the inn—

In the south suburbs, at the Elephant,
Is best to lodge. I will bespeak our diet,
Whiles you beguile the time and feed your knowledge
With viewing of the town. There shall you have me.⁴⁰

Probably Antony in *Antony and Cleopatra* is the best combination of the two men: the one who liked to see the sights of the city and the other who liked to hold forth in a tavern. As Antony said to Cleopatra, "Tonight we'll wander through the streets and note the qualities of people."⁴¹

. . . .

It is significant to note, in conclusion, that of all Shakespeare's plays *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* alone shares the enthusiasm

³⁷ and ³⁸. III, iii, 18-20.

³⁹. *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁰. *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴¹. I, i, 53.

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of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* for foreign travel as a necessary concomitant of the gentle discipline. In that play Panthino, servant to Antonio, reports to his master an interview with Antonio's brother, who had

wond'red that your lordship
Would suffer him [Proteus] to spend his youth at home,
While other men, of slender reputation,
Put forth their sons to seek preferment out,
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some to discover islands far away;
Some to the studious universities. . . .
'Twere good, I think, your lordship sent him thither to court.
There shall he practise tilts and tournaments,
Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen,
And be in eye of every exercise
Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth.⁴²

Indeed the advice is the central idea of *Il Cortegiano*, which Shakespeare is almost certain to have read in the translation of Thomas Hoby.⁴³ But that was when Shakespeare was young and probably had ideas that he too might "sail beyond the sunset, and the baths / Of all the western stars." Naturally, as time went on and commitments of more immediate nature piled up, that early hope died and there sprang up the substitute feeling that travel is, for most, a fool's paradise.

The first fine careless rapture gone, Shakespeare could finally say with the Lord Chamberlain in *Henry VIII* that "an English courtier may be wise, / And never see the Louvre." The change is not merely a matter of Shakespeare's favoring the idea of travel when he was young and later adopting a sour-grapes attitude. Quite the contrary, one might even say that the later plays are characterized by considerably more travel than is *The Two Gentlemen*. What seems to be a contradiction, though, is not one at all: Shakespeare, individual that he was, soon saw through the artificiality of the conduct books and any and all plays based upon them. When the characters of the later plays travel, the mission

42. I, iii, 4. The brackets are mine.

43. See the present writer's article on a relationship between *The Courtier* and *The Winter's Tale*: "Shakespeare's Probable Confusion of the Two Romanos," *JEGP*, XXXVI (Jan., 1937), 35-39.

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is more definite than the rather vague cultural training outlined for Proteus. As Shakespeare matured, his characters matured with him. Even if they had traveled as Proteus had, they were able to look back upon their adventures as youthful flings and season the business with something of the eternal. Thus to the little-traveled man from Stratford the question eventually turned not upon how far the traveler had been but whether he had tucked some daily beauty into his life—the taste of strawberries, the sound of chimes at midnight, the serenity of the temple-haunting martlet, or the character of towns and the qualities of the people.

XV

An Inquiry into the Genre of *Comus*

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I

IN ATTEMPTING to determine the genre of *Comus*, one must begin by considering the careless system under which theatrical forms are classified. While Polonius may seem too nice in setting up his categories, he is at least conscientious, and critics are not always so. For some years before John Milton wrote *Comus*, and for a great many years afterwards, to cite an instance, the word *masque* was used to describe a number of theatrical forms which had little in common except the random introduction of music and dancing. Though Ben Jonson achieved and for a period maintained a form which might be called a proper-masque, the form as a whole was not only ephemeral but intractable, for comparatively few of the many pieces performed or printed as masques conform to the ideals of Jonson, and there are variations even among his own works. There were pieces called masques which provided a whole evening's entertainment¹ and others which ran for only a few minutes.² Some consisted mostly of spoken dialogue with an occasional ayre;³ while some were sung throughout, either in recitative⁴ or in what must have been continuous melody or part-song.⁵ Masques in which the dancing was almost continuous⁶ may be contrasted to those in which there was

1. Jonson, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*.

2. Motteux, *Hercules. A Masque*.

3. Ford and Dekker, *The Sun's Darling*.

4. Jonson, *The Masque of Lethe*.

5. Jonson, *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*.

6. Davenant, *Luminalia*.

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only an occasional turn.⁷ Sometimes the masque would serve as the *raison d'être* of a royal ball, with the king and the queen themselves participating,⁸ but there were masques designed as purely private entertainment; moreover, there were those which were danced and sung entirely by professionals with no amateurs in the cast at all.⁹ There were masques which were presented very simply,¹⁰ and masques for which the stage decorations cost well more than a hundred thousand dollars.¹¹ There were masques in which there was little pretense of plot,¹² and masques in which everything was subordinated to the structure of the drama.¹³ So perhaps the critics have been confused by a term, having presumed a norm in a type for which none was ever really established.

Apparently the indispensable element was the introduction of music and dancing. Although they are classified by Harbage as morals, there is little to distinguish the content and the tone of Shirley's *Contention for Honor and Riches*¹⁴ and Richard Zouche's *Sophister* from those of *The Spring's Glorie* of Nabbes and *The Sun's Darling* by Ford and Dekker except the absence of music and dancing; but even of those which do have music and dancing, many fail to conform to the Jonsonian pattern in other respects. There are some which more nearly approximate the ideals of the dramatic opera current during the later century than do many of the pieces which were written and produced as such. So *Comus* is by no means unique in its well-known divagations from the proper-masque form. Rather it is one of a sizable group of pieces which were presented without cavil as masques, although the music is subordinate to the drama and the dance is reduced to mere ornamentation. They represent a stage in the development of the musical drama in England. It is only when *Comus* is considered

7. Shirley, *The Triumph of Beauty*.

8. Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia*.

9. Nabbes, *Microcosmus*.

10. *Comus*. Vide Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*, (London, 1937), pp. 104-5.

11. Shirley, *The Triumph of Peace*.

12. Nabbes, *The Spring's Glory*.

13. T. Heywood, *Love's Mistress*.

14. In his *Annals of English Drama*, Harbage dates this piece 1630-33; later it was expanded as *Honorina and Mammon*.

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in a critical vacuum that is seems to be a wondrous mutation; actually, it is a natural offshoot in a steady evolution.

This is not to say that *Comus* is an opera or even a dramatic opera, although, in view of the consensus that the genre of the piece is equivocal, one might readily make a case in which *Comus* could be set up as a forerunner of opera in England. However, if Henry Lawes and Milton were consciously setting out to imitate the Italian musical drama of the period, they left no known record of their intentions. Nevertheless, a number of critics have passed a hint to the effect that *Comus* might derive from or be allied to the opera. Prominent among them were Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, who referred to *Comus* as *un Opéra antique*,¹⁵ and Paul Reyher, who thought of it as *un véritable drame lyrique*.¹⁶ Most outspoken of all has been Gretchen Ludke Finney, who, in her article "*Comus*, Dramma per musica,"¹⁷ feels that she has produced proof "that Milton was writting a musical drama in the Italian style,"¹⁸ in short, an opera. This is perhaps an overstatement of a theory which has in it some element of truth. However, she is in the main concerned with demonstrating analogues between *Comus* and an earlier Italian *dramma per musica*. She offers arguments which, when considered upon uncritical acceptance of her premises, are indeed convincing: but, while it is possible that Milton may have written the libretto in imitation of Ottavio Tronsarelli's *La catena d'Adone*, it is not likely that Henry Lawes set the piece to recitative throughout, in view of the fact that the principal actors were to have been three children, aged fifteen, eleven, and nine years respectively, who, it would seem, would have had quite enough to do to memorize the speeches and a few bars of melody. Close examination of the Bridgewater Manuscript of *Comus* in the light of contemporaneous libretto techniques would indicate the presence of much more music, however, than the five songs which are commonly supposed

15. *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (Paris, 1863), II, 395.

16. *Les masques anglais* (Paris, 1909), p. 215.

17. *SP*, XXXVII (1940), 483-500.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 500.

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to have made up the evening's musical entertainment. It is therefore possible to establish two points: that *Comus* was merely one of a group of pieces which constitute part of the development of musical drama in England, and that there was much more music in it than is commonly supposed.

II

From the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, the masque in England had been distinguished by long passages of vocal music which included dialogue.¹⁹ The singing in *The Lord Hayes Masque* of Campion (1607) takes up more time than the speeches. Both this masque and *The Lords Masque* (1612/13) alternate music and speech somewhat in the manner of the dramatic operas of the Restoration.²⁰ In *The Lord Hayes Masque*, there are two dialogues for two voices, one dialogue for four voices, and one motet, all set to music. The light plot is carried forward by speech, but the climaxes and the transitions are musical, and the discovery of the masquers occurs to music, as was customary. Nor were the masque composers of the time unaware of the dramatic possibilities of music as an aid to characterization. In William Browne's *The Inner Temple Masque* (1615), sometimes known as *Ulysses and Circe*,²¹ the Sirens open the masque with what must have been a song in two parts, which is described "being as lascivious proper to them . . ." Later, when the Nereids come on, the description reads, "These having danced a most curious measure to a softer tune than the first antimasque (as most fitting) returned as they came."

When we come to deal with the settings made by Nicholas Lanier for certain of the masques of Ben Jonson, we encounter

19. Manfred Bukofzer notes that this tendency manifested itself in French music at about the same time. *Vide* his *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York, 1947), p. 182. Enid Welsford concluded that the trend came from France to England and that its presence tended to make the masque "operatic." *Vide* her volume *The Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 204.

20. Cf. *Bukofzer*, p. 182.

21. Joseph Warton was at some pains to point out the resemblances between this piece and *Comus*.

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the use of recitative. In *The Vision of Delight*, the masque is opened with a long passage of recitative, the music for which is no longer extant,²² but which, following the verse form, continued until the entry of the first anti-masque and was resumed afterwards. Appearing at about the same time, Jonson's *Masque of Lethe (Lovers Made Men)* was set to recitative all the way through. This is not the only masque of Jonson which was entirely set to music. Whether or not they were done in *stilo recitativo*, stage directions indicate that *Chloridia* and *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* were set to music all the way.²³ If this be true, they are set apart from opera only by virtue of Jonson's artistic reticence, which led him to preserve the masque as a dance-form, slight in plot and lacking in conflict. For the opera is fundamentally not a musical but a theatrical form. The first principle of opera is that it shall employ music to express or to intensify a dramatic situation, ultimately to expound characterization. To whatever degree a theatrical piece performs these functions, it is operatic. The use of recitative, the evolution of aria, the sequence of keys, the development of symphonic structure within the opera, etc., are merely technical questions of form. Superficially, they appear to be very important, but they have never been the real bases of opera; they are merely conventions, and only the esoteric are really aware of them in performance. When the music becomes more important than the drama, the result may be good music, but it is bound to be bad opera.

A number of other pieces current during the period of *Comus* display features which are distinctly operatic. Consider that curious

22. Cf. North's comment on the monody of *Hero and Leander*, the music for which is still in existence. *Vide* Roger North, *The Musical Grammarian*, ed. Hilda Andrews (London, 1925), pp. 19-20.

23. Both these pieces date from 1630. The only part in either of them that is not sung is the anti-masque in *Chloridia*. Cf. George Hogarth, *Memoirs of the Musical Drama* (London, 1838). Two comments from this work might be appropriate here: "These masques were professed imitations of the newly created Italian opera of that day. . . . They resembled Italian opera, too, in being founded on mythological subjects and in being performed with great splendour of scenery and decoration." I, 72-73. "Indeed the masques of Ben Jonson, as set by Ferrabosco and Lanier, bore a much closer resemblance to the regular Italian opera than the pieces called operas which prevailed on the English stage during the greater part of the last century." I, 87.

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production, *The Sun's Darling*, a moral-masque by Thomas Dekker and John Ford, which was first produced in 1624. In form, it is a five-act play of considerable length. The play is too long to have served as a libretto for a masque, and it makes only token observance of the masque conventions. The altercation between Time and Folly in Act I could stand as an anti-masque, but they do not dance.²⁴ There is a vestigial masquing at the end, but it is of no consequence. So far as the music is concerned, there are three songs in the first act, one in the second, two in the third, one each in the fourth and fifth. More often than not, in spite of their casual occurrence, they are integrated into the dramatic pattern. For instance, at the beginning of the play, Raybright, the grandchild of the Sun, is awakened and identified by a song sung to him by the Sun Priest. Later, when the Sun appears, he is welcomed by song.²⁵ At one point Raybright inquires of Folly the way to Humor, and Folly responds:

Fol. The way is windie and narrow; for look you, I do but winde this
Cornet, and if another answer it, she comes.

Ray. Be quick then—
Enter *Humor, etc.*

Cornets.

On the contrary, such dancing as one finds is not integrated into the plot and is, indeed, not necessary. It is the play which is important, with music and dancing subordinated.

The same conditions may be observed in another of these moral-masques, the *Microcosmus* of Thomas Nabbes, presented in 1637. This piece, like *The Sun's Darling*, is divided into five acts and is rather a drama than a dance form. The plot concerns the perils of one Physander, the true love of Bellanima, who allows himself to be seduced by Sensuality and the Five Senses. After sundry vicissitudes, he is redeemed by Bellanima. Though the

24. It might be worth noting here that when Folly is driven onstage by Time, he sings a song which sets forth his own character.

25. It may be pointed out that the Sun always enters to the sound of recorders; so does Venus in *The Queen's Masque* of Heywood (1636). It was a convention of the time. "From 1480, when a *Conversione di S. Paolo* was performed, it became the established custom to accompany the entrance of important characters with music." Egon Joseph Wellesz, *Essays on Opera*, trans. Patricia Kean (London, 1950), p. 21.

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characters are really allegorical personifications, they act out a plot. The result has some resemblances to the interlude and some to the morality play.

The music in *Microcosmus* is quite important dramatically. The first act opens with music, and the text indicates that it continues for some time:

"For the first Act. *After a confused noyse and Musicke out of tune,*
Nature enters as amaz'd at it.

What horrour wakes me! and disturbs the peace

I sate inthron'd in? shall dissention ruine

Eternall acts?

Cease mutiny, or be your owne destructions.

But my commands are uselesse. Their deafe wills
Persist to act their owne and my sad ills.

To her Janus.

Where's my delight! whence is this sad dejection?
How amaz'd Nature stands!

To them in the four Elements, with their several ἀνθρώποι φαντάκιοι (which Paracelsus calleth homines spirituales) *playing on antique instruments out of tune.*

Nat. See; the dissentious come
Maz'd in the errors of their own confusion."

Then the parents, Nature and Janus, engage in a dispute with their rebellious offspring, the four elements, which concludes:

"Ayre. Let's on to fight,
Whilst the yet discord of the untun'd spheares
Add's courage, and delights our warlike eares.

The 4. Elements and their creatures dance a confused dance to their owne antique musicke: in which they seeme to fight with one another: and so goe forth confusedly."

Only vestiges of the masque form remain: there are no masquers; there is some dancing, but no revels. It is really a morality play with music and dancing. Even if the actors themselves were masked, there is still no masque here.

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At least one other piece by the same Nabbes is worth considering in this context; that is *The Springs Glorie . . . Moralized in a Maske*, dating from 1636. It is a masque only by virtue of its title-page. There are no masquers; there are only two dances, one an anti-masque of beggars and the other a general dance led by the Spring to conclude the piece. The question is, Can Venus survive without Ceres and Bacchus? *I.e.*, can love subsist without food and wine? If *Comus*, as Enid Welsford claims, is a dramatized debate, how much more so is this, without having even so much as the excuse of a plot to uphold the debate?

No more a masque is *Love's Maistresse, or The Queen's Masque* by Thomas Heywood, dating from 1636. Both in dedication and in foreword, Heywood referred to this five-act play as a drama, although it is called masque on its title-page. It is not such in any Jonsonian sense of the word, for the dancing, of which there is a considerable amount, is always extraneous to the drama, and there is nothing that resembles the expected choreographic pattern. Furthermore, there is no internal evidence to the effect that there was any audience participation, as is required in the proper masque. Actions and speeches indicate that, while it may have been called *The Queen's Masque*, she did not take part in it personally. It is a long and dramatic redaction of the legend of Cupid and Psyche, with a kind of anti-masque running all the way through the drama, the serious course of the love affair being constantly interrupted by the japes of Apuleius and Midas. There is at least one of these anti-masque episodes in each of the five acts, culminating in a dance of some description. It would be folly to say that this piece is an opera, but it would be equal folly to allow it to stand identified without qualification as a masque. It is something very closely akin to the dramatic opera of the later century.

Indeed, it has been identified as the source for one of the most popular of all the dramatic operas, one which held the boards for several decades, Shadwell's *Psyche* (1674). Shadwell certainly had the opportunity to be familiar with it, for it was revived

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during the earliest days of the Restoration and frequently performed during the first decade of that epoch. Pepys records his attendance on it at least six times, the last time being Saturday, August 15, 1668, at the King's Playhouse.

Thus, in writing a play with music instead of a ballet with dialogue here and there, Milton was not guilty of ignorance of the accepted form, nor of willful arrogance, a lonely genius making his own rules. Paul Reyher thought it necessary to point out those features in *Comus* which were common in the masque tradition,²⁶ but it was not; for almost every feature of *Comus* which seems to set it so far apart from other masques had been introduced some time before the composition of *Comus*; or, at least, it was current. Like *Love's Mistress*, *Comus* was a play which would have been quite complete without any dancing at all. Not a spectacle in the usual manner of the masque, it dealt with a moral theme dramatically, but the same might be said of *Microcosmus*. M. Reyher, who was so much exercised over the absence of masquers in *Comus*,²⁷ might have found the same condition in a number of other masques so-called, such as *The Springs Glory*. In common with a number of other pieces called masques, *Comus* was a play in which music was integrated into the drama.²⁸ They are not yet opera, but they are somewhat too dependent upon music to be classified simply as drama and yet not sufficiently dependent upon the dance to be allowed to stand without qualification as masque. They are transition pieces leading toward an expanded musical drama. It is then rather extravagant to dismiss *Comus* in an arrogant footnote, as E. J. Dent did, as having "no bearing on the developement of English opera."²⁹

26. *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

27. Reyher, p. 213.

28. The statement is phrased in this manner to differentiate these pieces from the plays which introduced a great many extraneous songs, as, for instance, Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*, which, by the time of its fifth edition in 1638, contained at least twenty-two songs. Cf. Allan Holaday, ed. *Thomas Heywood's The Rape of Lucrece* (Urbana, Ill., 1950).

29. *Foundations of English Opera* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 38, n. 1.

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A number of years ago, Mr. W. J. Lawrence postulated the emergence of a masque-form³⁰ which was "not exactly a new dramatic genre, but a new kind of theatrical entertainment, which I may venture to style the substantive theatre masque." He characterized it as follows:

Much more full-bodied than the intercalary lopped masque of drama, it was likewise distinguished from the highly ornate court masque which inspired it, not only by the simplicity of its mounting but by its closer approach to dramatic form.

According to Lawrence, these pieces were intended for professional presentation during the Lenten season, when the performance of regular stage-plays was prohibited by law. Among the pieces which he studied in this essay were *The Sun's Darling* and *Microcosmus*. Perhaps, in confining his classification to those masques which were produced professionally, Mr. Lawrence drew his lines too narrowly, for the real generic distinction was the "closer approach to dramatic form." A number of masques intended for amateur performance, among them *Comus*, conform to the same restrictions, the whole group functioning transitionally.

III

There is no valid reason to assume that Milton and Lawes had any intention of writing a transition piece! Neither artist was very much given to innovation. What they achieved in *Comus* probably represented a compromise, in terms of established theatrical conventions, which would meet the demands of the situation and still allow both artists to display their skills. It is difficult to concede that Henry Lawes, who, it is generally granted, was the moving spirit in arranging *Comus*, would have contented himself with five vocal numbers throughout. Bukofzer was careful to point out that the five songs are the *extant* music to *Comus*.³¹ In the Lawes holograph in which they are preserved, the super-

30. "The Origin of the Substantive Theater Masque," *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 325-339.

31. *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

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scription reads merely, "These five songs following were sett for A maske presented at Ludlo Castle. . . ." There is nothing to indicate that they form the totality of the music.

Indeed, there is considerable indication in the Bridgewater Manuscript that there was much more music than has come down to us. Some years ago, David Harrison Stevens asserted that this manuscript was more than likely a copy prepared by a scribe for the library of the Egerton family.³² That it was made from an actual playing version seems quite probable; for, to the eyes of a trained librettist—and Milton was not³³—there appear to be a number of differentiations from the Trinity College Manuscript and the published poem, alterations of a type which would have been made by a composer. It is the melancholy experience of any except the most expert librettist to be told by the composer that there are too many words. The deletion of some one hundred lines would therefore indicate that the poem was shortened by Lawes. Probably it was Lawes who shifted a major portion of one of the loveliest utterances of the Demon from the end to the beginning of the play, a shift designed to afford the composer an opportunity to open the production with a vocal passage of some length. If there was a machine, one may be sure that Henry Lawes was in it, as it descended, singing, "From the heavens now I flye." For the young and inexperienced Milton was not merely librettist to a composer, he was librettist to a composer who was to sing the leading role in his own opus.³⁴

Though pronouncements are not in order, it must be remembered that Lawes was the heir to the tradition of Ferrabosco

32. *Milton Papers* (Chicago, Press, 1927), pp. 14-20, *passim*.

33. As the author of several successful opera libretti, the present writer may speak with reasonable authority concerning the practical problems of the musical theatre, training to deal with which he obtained by studying opera techniques for three seasons under Boris Goldovsky of the New England Conservatory.

34. It is not merely facetious to point out that the chance to compose the entirety of the music to a masque was one which Lawes would have welcomed, for Nicholas Lanier was at that time in his ascendancy at court, and Lawes was not likely to supersede him, though there was no animosity between the two. Lawes seems often to have participated in the court masques but seldom to have sung a major role before this time. Cf. Willa McClung Evans, *Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of Poets* (New York, 1941), p. 57 ff.

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the Younger, Campion, and Lanier, nor was he merely among the epigoni but rather one of the sovereign of the line. Indeed, he brought the recitative to a point of expressiveness which was not surpassed until the time of Henry Purcell. Though the music of Henry Lawes, like that of the other composers of his century, was allowed to lie in desuetude for generations, of late, through the efforts of Warlock, Bukofzer, and others, the outrageous denuncements of Burney, Hawkins, and the old-school British musicologists who for so long so slavishly followed their dicta, have been largely discredited. Although *Comus* was twenty years behind him when the first volume of *Ayres and Dialogues* was published in 1653, it is quite likely that by 1634 he had already begun to experiment with recitative. Partially on the strength of his work with recitative, Henry Lawes is one of the considerable transitional figures between the early baroque and the middle baroque, for, when Sir William Davenant disguised his heroic play *The Siege of Rhodes* as an opera in 1656,³⁵ he was one of three composers engaged to prepare the recitative.

Miss Evans assumes, and with some reason, that Lawes had taken part in the pair of gorgeous masques written by Ben Jonson, mounted by Inigo Jones, and set to music throughout by Nicholas Lanier, for presentation at Shrovetide in 1630: *Chloridia* and *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*. We do not have Lanier's music to the pair of masques previously mentioned, but Jonson's texts make it perfectly clear that they were set to music in their entirety. The point to be made here is that both would have employed voices in all ranges, to say nothing of a chorus and an orchestra. With these pieces fresh in his own mind, it is hardly likely that, when Lawes was given an opportunity to compose his own masque, he would have been content to employ two voices soli, and to have set four out of five songs for just one of them.

Critics write of "the five songs in *Comus*" without considering the other music. As a matter of fact, there may have been music

35. There is no more reason for the arbitrary assignment of this date as marking the beginnings of opera in England than there is for assigning 1798 as the opening of the romantic era.

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before the masque began; and it certainly must have opened with Lawes' tuneful descent from the heavens as the Demon. Much has been said about the fact that Comus himself might have sung, but, since we do not know who took the role, and since no music is extant, no final pronouncement may be made. However, custom dictated that a god should enter to music, and, if Comus came on only to the accompaniment of indiscriminate noise, it was a major departure from established theatrical practice. It is possible that the music which accompanied his entrance was similar to that employed in *Microcosmus*, Act I, perhaps performed by persons onstage. Then the Lady enters and sings her surpassing little song.³⁶ Doubtless there was no further music until the change to the palace of Comus, which, in the 1645 edition, was effected to "soft musick." This direction is not repeated in the Bridgewater Manuscript, an omission which may at first seem remarkable, until one reflects that the sounding of soft music during such a transition would have been taken for granted by Henry Lawes. Then, after the curious climax in which the dramatic action is rather interrupted than turned, there follows the bulk of the music in *Comus*.

It begins when the Demon sings the song "Sabrina faire." This song is followed by a set of verses in which each of the two brothers and the Demon have a part, building up to a second invocation by the Demon to Sabrina, which concludes with the same line that the song does, "Listen & save." These verses are headed by the stage direction [the verse to singe or not]. Even on the face of it, one can only remark that it would be somewhat odd for Lawes or anyone else to have inserted such a stage direction if there had been no music available for the passage. The reasonable inference is that Lawes had made a literal incantation,

36. Dent's disdainful remarks concerning this piece do not take into account the intentions of the composer or the librettist, nor the particular problem with which Lawes had to deal: the fact that the song was to be sung by a fifteen-year-old girl, who, although she had made an appearance in *Tempe Restored*, was not accustomed to sing solo before strangers. See Dent, p. 38. Cf. Evans, pp. 102-104 *passim*. She gives a much more knowledgeable insight into the actual problem.

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setting the entire passage to music, which was to be sung if the little boys could master it. There is no reason to assume that they could not have. The ability to sing was not regarded as a peculiar talent in those days; it was accepted by the well-to-do as an everyday polite accomplishment, and singing as an ordinary social diversion in which everyone engaged. It was assumed that anyone could be taught to carry his part, if not to sing beautifully, nor did parents begin to have their children trained only upon discovery that the adolescent had "a voice." Rather, training was begun in childhood; and we may be relatively certain that not only the Lady Alice but also the little boys were learning music from Henry Lawes. At any rate, the verses were not long, nor were the childish trebles expected to compete with a Wagnerian symphony; furthermore, all the time they were expected to be singing, their teacher, whom they apparently had known long and loved well, was to be onstage with them, to set the tune for them, to prompt them, to lend them confidence, and to take up the song when they had concluded. While neither of them was proficient enough to sing solo, they might have been able to sing more or less in response. If they were able to memorize and declaim the ponderous debate concerning chastity, it may be certainly assumed that they were already sufficiently well developed to be able to sing simple music. It is not reasonable to assume that, because it is not extant, the music never existed.

On the basis of the examples already quoted, one may say that, if Sabrina was invoked in speech, it was one of the rare occasions in which a deity or a demi-god was called onstage without music. The musical invocation of the god is a feature found not only in the masque but also in the Italian opera of the period; it remains perhaps the most common and consistent practice of all the librettists throughout the period of the masque and the Restoration, remaining well into the Eighteenth Century. It is the central feature of dozens of "Temple Scenes," of which many examples might be cited in Restoration opera and dramatic opera. Furthermore, it is highly improbable that in any kind of masque, moral

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or immoral, Sabrina herself would have spoken the lines which Milton accorded her. After all, the stage directions read specifically, "Sabrina rises . . . and sings." Inquiry into the masque and into the dramatic opera of the later century would show that a spoken entrance was not usual when the verse form was of this type. Again, one must protest that the fact that Sabrina's song is not available means only that it is not known to be extant.

There is good reason to assume that the speech of the Demon immediately following was also set to music, as well as the rejoinder made by Sabrina while she releases the lady. If one examines the rhyme-pattern of the little three-speech scene, it will be obvious that Milton composed the whole piece as a unit. The last line of Sabrina's song rhymes with the first line of the Demon's plea. In addition, the -est rhyme which is introduced in her song ("gentle Swayne at thy request") is not tagged until the Demon speaks "of true virgin heere distrest"; it is then taken up again by Sabrina the second time she speaks and is repeated. ("Shepheard tis my office best . . . thus I sprinle on this brest") To carry over the rhyme without carrying over the music would have been an error in taste which Milton with his sensitivity and Lawes with his knowledge of masque-technique would not have been likely to have committed. It is significant that such rhyme-patterns are not to be found in any other part of the masque.³⁷

The speech of the Demon beginning, "Virgin, daughter of Locrine," concludes with the simple stage direction [Songe ends]. There is simply no possibility of explaining this unequivocal directive away: There had been singing, and the singing was to come to an end at this point. Professor Stevens established that this directive was written in the hand of Henry Lawes,³⁸ which fact leaves little room for quibbling as to whether there was music

37. Examples of the manner in which rhyme is held over from one speech to the next when set to music are to be observed in Jonson's *Masque of Lethe*, in the dialogue among Lethe, Mercury, and the Fates; in Jonson's *Love's Triumph* when Jupiter, Juno, Genius, and Hymen invoke Venus; and in Shirley's *Triumph of Beauty*, when Hymen and Delight are invoking the Graces and the Hours.

38. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

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available at the time. The singing which had been in progress since the Demon began "Sabrina faire" came to a close here, and the Demon went off with the children, leaving the stage free for the discovery of Ludlow Castle, after which the rustics came on with their "countrie daunces, and the like &c." These sports were interrupted by the entrance of the children with the Demon, who sings, "Back Shepheards, back." While singing the second part of the song, "Noble Lord and Lady bright," the Demon presented the children to their parents, a ceremony apparently followed by dances more stately. There is no indication that the customary revels were performed, but again, considering *Comus* as a moral-masque, this is by no means an odd situation. At the conclusion of the dances, the children apparently had their going-out, and the Demon, if there was a machine, mounted it and ascended, doubtless to music.

On the basis of the Bridgewater Manuscript, with its notations in Henry Lawes' own hand, there is every reason to assume that *Comus* was continuous music from the invocation of Sabrina until the end of the masque, with only one interval of speech of nineteen lines. Most of the verse is apt for music, and masque tradition, firmly established for two decades, and set to continue for another century, called for its use. The script would have called for music which, while the children could have performed it, would have been sufficiently elaborate to have satisfied the artistic appetite of the composer, involving as it would have the two voices of the boys, the voice of Lawes as the Demon, and the voice of Sabrina, to say nothing of the dance music which Lawes may very well have composed for the occasion. If these considerations are borne in mind, it becomes clear that Milton and Lawes set up their masque so that the entire denouement could be set to music. If this does not make *Comus* an opera, at least it makes it operatic.

IV

Comus is then to be viewed as one of a considerable number of musical dramatic pieces which were thoroughly familiar

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to the sophisticated theatre-going audience of the time. They do not classify readily, but they have a sufficient number of characteristics in common to enable one to speak of them as a genre with some assurance: They are usually called masques, but they are not proper-masques; the emphasis is upon the drama, which is apt to be built around a complete plot-structure rather than the truncated or fragmentary plot usually found in the proper masque; the subject is frequently allegorical or mythological or a combination of those two; the drama does not exist as a vehicle for the dance, but on the contrary the dance functions as a mere ornament to the drama; the music is apt to be of greater significance than the dancing, frequently being employed dramatically. Some of these pieces are called moral-masques. Some of them, like *Comus*, are simply referred to as masques.³⁹ What we have here are a set of transitional works, which are certainly not opera but which employ music too frequently and too deliberately to be classified merely as plays.

An attempt to reclassify definitively all the masques of the Jacobean and Caroline eras would be in itself a major undertaking and would hardly be in order here. It is possible, however, to point out that the Jonsonian masques did not really establish a norm which was followed fast or merely varied. There came into being a great number of pieces called masques, *Comus* among them, which had little to do with the court and which were not entertainments with dancing, but which depended rather for their effectiveness upon dramatic structure. Of these, some might indeed qualify as substantive theatre masques, but, in terms of literary form, that designation is not sufficiently comprehensive. Restricted as it is by the notion that the masque had to be presented in the theatre, it fails to take into account a number of pieces which resemble the substantive theatre masque in form but which were presented privately. The whole group, including the substantive theatre masques, might be accorded the designation

39. Some of them, such as *The Floating Island* of William Strode (1636), which is called a tragi-comedy, fall within the limitations here established, whatever Strode's intentions may have been.

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of dramatic masques. It is they, rather than the proper-masques, which were the prototypes of the later dramatic opera in England, predicated as it was upon a complete plot-structure.

The Commonwealth did not really interrupt the course of the spoken drama. It only gave the gorgeous, phosphorescent corpse of the Elizabethan theatre a quick funeral and a decent period of mourning. However, it may very well have interrupted the development of the musical theatre, for there was present in England during the reign of Charles I everything necessary for the speedy efflorescence of such an artistic medium: literary men who were accustomed to write words for music, composers who were skilful enough to set them; a communal singing tradition which was at least one hundred years old; and, most important, a steady audience which was quite accustomed to the idea of musical drama.⁴⁰

The transitional position of *Comus* can by no means be more clearly demonstrated than by comparing it with Dryden's definition of an opera, which he set up in the preface to *Albion and Albanus* in 1685:

An *Opera* is a Poetical Tale, or Fiction, represented by Vocal and Instrumental Musick, adorn'd with Scenes, Machines, and Dancing. The suppos'd Persons of this Musical *Drama* are generally supernatural, as Gods, and Goddesses, and Heroes, which at least are descended from them, and are in due time to be adopted into their number. The Subject therefore being extended beyond the Limits of Humane Nature, admits of that sort of marvellous and surprising Conduct, which is rejected in other Plays. Humane Impossibilities are to be receiv'd, as they are in Faith; because where Gods are introduc'd, a Supreme Power is to be understood, and second Causes are out of doors: Yet Propriety is to be observ'd even here. The Gods are all to manage their peculiar Provinces. . . . If the Persons represented were to speak upon the Stage, it wou'd follow of necessity, That the Expressions should be Lofty, Figurative, and Majestical. . . . *The Songish Part*, must abound in the Softness and Variety of Numbers; Its principal Intention being

40. Bukofzer's assertion that music flourished during the Commonwealth is quite true, but it was not theatrical music of the sort produced by Lanier and Lawes. It was private entertainment of a very high order, but private persons could not hope to mount masques in the sumptuous manner common to the court masques and the great masques at the Inns of Court. Nor could they possibly attract the continuous commercial audience which is the life blood of any real theatrical enterprise. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 186.

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to please the Hearing, rather than to gratifie the Understanding. . . . I said in the beginning of this Preface, that the Persons represented in *Opera's* are generally God's Goddesses, and Heroes descended from them, who are suppos'd to be their peculiar Care; which hinders not, but that meaner Persons may sometimes gracefully be introduc'd, especially if they have relation to those first Times, which Poets call the *Golden Age*: wherein by reason of their Innocence those happy Mortals were suppos'd to have had a more familiar Intercourse with Superior Beings; and therefore Shepherds might reasonably be admitted, as of all Callings the most innocent, the most happy, and who by reason of the spare Time they had, in their almost idle Employment, had most leisure to make Verses, and to be in Love; without somewhat of which Passion, no *Opera* can possibly subsist.

XVI

New Words in Milton's English Poems

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I

WHEN BISHOP BURNET came to place *Paradise Lost* in the *History of His Own Time*,¹ he found it "the beautifullest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at least in our language." But the good Bishop did not admire the blank verse, nor did he approve of the fact that Milton "made many new and rough words." The last statement comes perhaps as a surprise for the modern reader, who may remember that Milton coined the word *pandemonium* but who cannot think of another neologism in the entire text. Bishop Burnet, however, was by no means alone in his strictures; many other critics joined him to condemn, for instance, "an uncouth unnatural jargon, like the phrase and style of Milton, which is a second Babel . . . ; a fault that can never be enough regretted in that immortal poet."² In his brief discussion of Milton in the *Essay on Satire* Dryden argues against word coinages: "for unnecessary coinage, as well as unnecessary revival, runs into affection; a fault to be avoided on either hand." In *Spectator Paper* #285 Addison notes "that there are in Milton several words of his own coining, as *Cereberean*, *miscreated*, *hell-doomed*, *embryon* atoms, and many others," adding that some readers are

1. Last entry of 1660; Dublin, 1742, I, 93.

2. Quoted from Leonard Welsted in Raymond D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass., 1922, p. 64, n. 1. On pages 63 ff. Professor Havens discusses this element of Miltonic criticism at some length and gives numerous examples. See also Ants Oras, *Milton's Editors and Commentators*, Dorpat, 1931.

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offended "at this liberty in our English poet," though Addison himself takes a more favorable view.³

So much for Restoration and 18th-century views. The 20th century shows just as consistent support for the opposite point of view. Historians of the language follow Henry Bradley, who established the modern idea that Milton invented very few words. He asserts that "the Miltonic expressions that have really become part of the language are extremely few," adding that "of new words and senses of words brought into literary use by Milton it is not possible to find any considerable number." He lists *gloom*, *Pandemonium*, *anarch*, *horrent*, and *impassive* from the poetry and concludes that in the middle of the 17th century many words were "*potentially* English; that is to say, the right of forming them at will, by anglicising the form of Latin words or by attaching a Latin prefix or suffix to a word derived from that language, was in practice generally assumed and conceded. If Milton had not used these words some other writer of the period would almost certainly have done so; and they may quite possibly have been employed by several writers, without any consciousness either of innovation or of following a precedent."⁴

Just where does the truth lie between Bishop Burnet's discovery of "many new and rough words" in Milton and Mr. Bradley's failure to find "a considerable number"? With the help of the *New English Dictionary* at least a partial answer may be made. The present study is an attempt to discover what that lexicographical landmark reveals about innovations of diction in Milton's poetry; the method has been to compare its unabridged corpus with Laura E. Lockwood's *Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton*.⁵ How valid is this approach? How accurate is

3. As will be seen by comparison of Addison's list with those given below, he was right only in the case of *hell-doomed*. Likewise Peck in 1740 (Havens, p. 64) named as "old words" *minstrelsy*, *murky*, *carol*, and *chaunt*; and as "naturalized" Latin *humid*, *orient*, *hostil*, *facil*, *fervid*, *jubilant*, *ire*, *bland*, *reluctant*, *palpable*, *fragil*, and *ornate*. Of these only *carol*, *chaunt*, *facil*, *jubilant*, and *bland* can be defended as at all original with Milton.

4. *The Making of English*, New York: Macmillan, 1904, pp. 232-235.

5. New York: Macmillan, 1907. After this study was completed Paul Roberts published an analysis of "Sir Walter Scott's Contributions to the English Vocabulary"

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the NED? Although its editors attempted to record the first use of every word, they could not help making errors in such a tremendous undertaking. Obviously it is impossible to discover all these omissions without rewriting the entire dictionary. On the other hand, in the course of checking the Milton *Lexicon* against the dictionary, I have observed relatively few cases where Milton used a word earlier than it is recorded there. Out of more than 1,000 words which I have noted as apparently original in some sense with Milton, only in the following cases does the NED seem to be wrong:⁶

LIST 1

acknowledged (part. adj.) PL 4.956. NED earliest 1769 but *v.* earlier.
adverse (adv.) PL 10.289. Not listed as *adv.* in NED. *Adj.* earlier.
advised (part. used as adv.) PL 6.674. NED lists only as *adj.*
audacious (adv.) PL 2.931. NED lists only as *adj.*
bout (sb.) involution in music L'A 139. Meaning not in NED.
Comus (sb.) proper name in masque. Listed as first in NED, but occurring in Jonson's "To Sir Robert Wroth."
darkened (part. adj.) PL 2.491. NED earliest 1733 but *v.* earlier.
daughter of voice (sb.) PL 9.653. NED does not notice the technical meaning of the phrase as a form of prophecy.
ensnared (part. adj.) C 900. NED earliest 1643 but *v.* earlier.
gale (sb.) breeze PL 4.156 *et al.* Meaning sb³ 1. b in NED, which gives 1728 as earliest example.
grassy (adj.) pertaining to grass PL 9.186. NED earliest 1697.
happy (adv.) PL 8.633. Not listed as *adv.* in NED. *Adj.* earlier.
ingrate (sb.) PL 3.97; 5.811. NED earliest 1672.
Piemontese (adj.) S 18.7. Not in NED.
punished (part. adj.) PL 10.803. NED earliest 1806 but *v.* earlier.
regorge (v. tr.) devour to repletion SA 1671. Meaning not in NED; allied one from 1700.
rod (sb.) sun's ray SA 549. Meaning not in NED.
safe (adv.) PL 2.411; 3.21, 197; *et al.* Not listed as *adv.* in NED.
saintly (adj.) II P 13; NO 42; PL 4.122; *et al.* NED earliest 1660.
sequestered (part. adj.) C 500; PL 4.706. NED earliest 1658 but *v.* earlier.
shadowy (adv.) PL 5.43. NED earliest 1797.
swim (v. intr.) be giddy PL 2.753. NED earliest 1702.

in *PMLA*, LXVIII (1953), 189-210, and Lalia Phipps Boone discussed "The Language of Book VI, *Paradise Lost*" in *SAMLA Studies in Milton*, ed. J. Max Patrick, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953. Both of these papers make use of the NED and help to justify my own procedure, though differing somewhat in method and aim.

6. None appear in Edward Phillips, *The New World of Words*, London, 1706, 6th edition. I have not considered compounds.

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- Tauric* (adj.) Crimean PR 4.79. Not in NED.
tempestuous (adv.) PL 6.844. Not listed as *adv.* in NED but *adj.* earlier.
trading (part. adj.) PL 2.640. NED earliest 1690 but *v.* earlier.
trill (v. tr.) utter PR 4.246. NED earliest 1701.
voluptuous (adv.) PL 2.869. Not listed as *adv.* in NED but *adj.* earlier.
wild (adv.) PL 5.297. Not listed as *adv.* in NED but *adj.* earlier.

Of the twenty-eight words, it will be noted that six are minor omissions of the participial form and nine are adverb coinages duplicating the adjective, all perhaps nonce uses except *safe*. Of the remaining thirteen, *bout*, *Comus*, *gale*, *grassy*, *ingrate*, *regorge*, *reject*, *swim*, and *trill* seem to be the more important omissions and *saintly* the only really serious error. Such accuracy in a work of this scope is comforting assurance at least of the accuracy of the editorial reading of Milton.

As was mentioned above, more than 1,000 words appear to be original with Milton. That is, according to the NED, Milton's name appears as the first to use a word in that many of its entries. In fact, however, a good many of the categories of listings do not appear to be of any real significance; they are certainly words which, as Bradley says, would have been used sooner or later—their first appearance seems to me to be of little intrinsic importance.

One such large group is the participles, both present and past, which the NED honors with more or less independent entries. For the letters *A* and *B* alone, for instance, I have observed *adjouring*, *baffled*, *bannered*, *beaming*, *bedecked*, *besotted*, *bickering*, *blandished*, *boasted*, *branching*, *brewed*, and *brimming*. In every one of these cases the verb or substantive antecedes this first usage of the participle, and in fact Milton's own use of the verb or substantive itself. I have noted a total of 116 such participles, but none of them seems to be of any importance or interest. Of them, 10, or about 8 per cent are marked as not normal usage today: *obsolete*, *poetic*, *nonce*, and so on.

Somewhat different are the compounds. Again the NED lists many of them, with Milton contributing such original examples as *arch-fiend*, *awe-stroock*, *birth-night*, *earth-born*, *full-grown*, *half-*

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starved, home-felt, love-lorn, moon-struck, never-ending, self-satisfying, thin-spun, well-balanced, and well-measured, to list only some of the ones in common use. All together there is a total of at least 77, with 4, or about 5 per cent, being obsolete, poetic, etc. It is, however, a question as to whether these are, strictly speaking, neologisms, since both parts of the compound were already in existence; in joining them the poet has done no more than any writer who memorably combines, for instance, an adverb and adjective.

By far the largest of the groups of minor innovations is that where Milton has first used a word in a slightly developed sense from some already established meaning. The NED makes this distinction by listing major divisions of meaning as 1, 2, 3, etc.; subdivisions under each are classified as 1a, 1b, 1c, etc. Milton's name appears frequently in the latter class: he has, like any creative writer, extended meanings from already established usage. Again in the letters *A* and *B* alone, we find, for instance, *abjure, admit, allowance, ambrosial* (twice), *amerce, arbitrate, artifice, ascend, asphodel, assert, assume, attendant, autumn, bed, bend, benediction, blaze, breathe, and bring on*. There are at least 336 of these extensions of meaning, but the only ones of more than passing interest seem to be those where Milton has developed twice the meaning of a word. This he has done with *ambrosial, distrust, flat, gird, lose, mix, paternal, raise, roll, rouse, savage, shell, solace, strain, structure, and wandering*. A few have three examples: *reach, smooth, and wave*. Of the total, 62, or about 18 per cent are obsolete, poetic, etc.

II

So much for the less important of Milton's coinages. The remaining classes offer more striking instances of his creations in the language. The largest group is made up of those words which, according to the NED, Milton used for the first time in a major subdivision of meaning. Although the list is a lengthy one, its importance requires that it be quoted in full, since here we see the

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poet at his most characteristic in making additions to the English vocabulary by developing new meanings for words already established.⁷

LIST 2

- acknowledge* (v. tr.) own with gratitude PL 11.612; SA 245.
adventurer (sb.) one who seeks adventures PL 10.440.
ambrosia (sb.) anointing oil of gods PL 5.57.
anarchy (sb.) non-recognition of authority PL 2.896; 6.873; 10.283.
anxious (adj.) distressing PL 8.185; SA 659.
appearance (sb.) coming before public PR 2.41.
**ardour* (sb.) effulgent spirit PL 5.249.
arrowy (adj.) abounding in arrows PR 3.324.
**artist* (sb.) astronomer PL 1.288.
ascend (v. intr.) rising by construction PL 1.722.
aspect (sb.) a looking in a diven direction PL 4.541.
assault (v. tr.) strike against PL 2.953.
assessor (sb.) One who shares another's rank PL 6.679.
astound (v. tr.) strike with amazement C 210.
attune (v. tr.) make tuneful PL 4.265.
austere (adj.) grave PL 9.272.
**averse* (adj.) lying on opposite side PL 8.138; 9.67.
azure (sb.) abode of God PL 1.297; 4.976; 7.577.
balance (sb.) physical equipoise PL 1.349.
balmy (adj.) yielding balm PL 5.23.
ban (sb.) authoritative prohibition PL 9.925.
barbaric (adj.) in characteristic style of barbarians PL 2.4.
barbarous (adj.) harsh-sounding S 12.3; PL 7.32.
beauty (sb.) personified abstract quality PL 8.533; PR 2.212; 220.
bestick (v.) transfix PL 12.536.
bestrew (v. tr.) scatter about PL 1.311; 4.631.
billow (sb.) wave of flame PL 1.224.
bland (adj.) balmy PL 5.5; 9.1047.
blank (adj.) unrelieved, helpless C 452.
blear (adj.) dim, misty C 155.
bosom (v. tr.) embosom L'A 78; C 368.
bout (sb.) L'A 139. See List 1.
bow (v. tr.) cause to stoop down PL 1.436; SA 698.
bridge (v. tr.) form a way by means of a bridge PL 10.310.
brush (v. tr.) sweep away A 50; PL 5.429.
bustle (sb.) activity C 379.
busy (adj.) indicating activity L'A 118.
cadence (sb.) rise and fall of wind PL 2.287.

7. Words from List 1 are repeated in this list or one of the following. Words starred are not in normal use today; the NED classifies them as obsolete, archaic, poetic (but "mainly poetic" are not starred), rare, nonce, or catachrestic. I have also added a very few words which occur first in Milton's prose but which he also uses in the poetry.

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- call up* (v.) summon from some lower region Il P 109; PL 3.603; 5.179.
cape (sb.) C. of Good Hope PL 2.641.
capital (sb.) main town of a country PL 1.756.
caravan (sb.) troop of people in company, *fig.* of birds PL 7.428.
**carnage* (sb.) heap of dead bodies PL 10.268.
cast forth (v.) PL 2.889; PR 1.228.
casual (adj.) unpremeditated PL 9.223.
cataphract (sb.) armored soldier SA 1619.
cheat (v. tr.) deceive C 155.
chime (sb.) *fig.* system with parts in harmony SM 20.
choral (adj.) sung in chorus PL 5.162.
citadel (sb.) *fig.* PL 1.773.
**clan* (sb.) *fig.* of animals, etc. PL 2.901.
clang (sb.) scream of birds PL 7.422; 11.835.
**clarion* (sb.) *fig.* of a cock PL 7.443.
**classic* (adj.) classical F of C 7.⁸
column (sb.) of fire SA 27.
**compliance* (sb.) complaisance PL 8.603.
**compliant* (adj.) pliant PL 4.332.
composure (sb.) calmness PL 9.272.⁹
cone (sb.) conical shadow PL 4.776.
**connive* (v. intr.) remain dormant PL 10.624; SA 466.
conscious (adj.) felt PL 2.801.
continue (v. tr.) extend PL 2.1029.
**convolve* (v. tr.) be contorted PL 6.328.
**crawl* (v. intr.) of plants: to trail C 295.
**creep* (v. tr.) creep along or over PL 7.475, 523.
cull (v. tr.) pluck C 255
cynic (adj.) characteristic of Cynic philosophers C 708.
**damp* (adj.) noxious exhalation C 470; SA 8.
daughter (of voice) (sb.) PL 9.653. See List 1.
decency (sb.) becoming act PL 8.601.
demoniac (adj.) belonging to demon *Apol Smect*; PR 4.628.
**diffuse* (v. tr.) spread out body SA 118.
dignity (sb.) nobleness of mien PL 4.619; 8.489; 10.151.
dip (v. tr.) dye PL 5.283; 11.244.
dip (v. tr.) suffuse with moisture C 803.
disburden (v. intr.) unload PL 5.319.
displace (v. tr.) supplant C 560.
displace (v. tr.) put in place of PL 1.473.
distend (v. intr.) swell out PL 1.572.
dividual (adj.) held in common PL 7.382.
**divine* (adj.) prescient PL 9.845.
**divulge* (v. tr.) impart generally PL 8.583.
**dodge* (v. intr.) change position to catch a person UC 1.8.
dream (sb.) object seen in a dream PL 8.292.

8. *Classical*, however, had been used in this sense from 1586.

9. Out of twelve meanings which the NED lists, this is the only extant sense of the word today.

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- dreary* (adj.) dismal PL 1.180; 2.618.
drug (v. tr.) nauseate PL 10.568.
**dwell* (v. tr.) cause to abide PL 12.487 of 1st ed.
early (adv.) in good time S 18.14.
**eglantine* (sb.) the honeysuckle (?) L'A 48.
elegant (adj.) correct in taste PL 9.1018.
**ellops* (sb.) kind of serpent PL 10.525.
elude (v. tr.) escape adroitly from PL 9.158.
embassy (sb.) ambassador & his retinue PR 4.67, 121.
**embody* (v. intr.) impart a material character to C 468.
empower (v. tr.) enable PR 2.130.
enginery (sb.) artillery *Ch Discip*; PL 6.553.
**enlighten* (v. tr.) revive PL 6.497.
**ethereal* (adj.) heavenly PL 2.311, 601; 3.100 *et al.* (11 uses)
Ethiop (adj.) Ethiopian II P 19; PL 4.282.
**exact* (adj.) highly wrought PL 7.477.
**excel* (v. tr.) exceed PL 2.884; 8.456.
exempt (adj.) freed from allegiance to PL 2.318.
family (sb.) group of persons PL 10.216.
feathery (adj.) feathered C 347.
felonious (adj.) thievish C 196.
feverish (adj.) excited C 8.
flavour (sb.) element in taste which depends on cooperation of smell SA 544.
**fledge* (adj.) furnished for flight PL 3.627.
fleecy (adj.) resembling a fl. II P 72; PL 5.187.
fling (v. tr.) emit light, etc. II P 131; C 789; PL 8.517.
float (v. intr.) move freely through air C 249.
flowery (adj.) decorated with flowers PL 11.881.
flush (v. intr.) producing a heightened color PL 9.887.
forestall (v. tr.) think of beforetime C 362.
forgive (v. tr.) regard leniently PL 10.956; SA 787.
**fraud* (sb.) state of being deluded PL 7.143; 9.643; PR 1.372.
gale (sb.) PL 4.156; 8.515; PR 2.364. See List I.
glare (sb.) fierce look PL 4.402.
glare (v. tr.) express with a glare PL 6.849.
gloom (sb.) indefinite degree of darkness NO 77; PL 1.244.
goal (sb.) turning point in chariot race C 100; PL 2.531.
grassy (adj.) PL 9.186. See List I.
graze (v. tr.) eat PL 4.253; 7.404; 9.571; 10.711.
guiltless (adj.) having no knowledge of PL 9.392.
hang (v. intr.) remain with suspended motion PL 6.190.
harmonic (adj.) harmonious PL 4.687.
heraldry (sb.) heraldic pomp Cir 10.
**Hermes* (sb.) the metal Mercury PL 3.603.
heroic (adj.) of heroes of antiquity PL 1.577.
hierarch (sb.) applied to archangel or Christ PL 5.468; 5.587; 11.220.
**hist* (v. tr.) summon without noise II P 55.
Hour (sb.) the Horae S 1.4; T 2; C 986; PL 4.267; 6.3.
Hyena (sb.) cruel person SA 748.

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- **Hydrus* (sb.) fabulous snake PL 10.525.
Iberian (adj.) area of Asia PR 3.318.
idolism (sb.) a fallacy PR 4.234.
**incarnate* (v. tr.) despiritualize PL 9.166.
**incentive* (adj.) having property of setting on fire PL 6.519.
inclement (adj.) severe weather PL 10.1063.
incorporeal (adj.) characteristic of immaterial beings PL 8.37.¹⁰
incorruptible (adj.) incapable of being morally corrupted PL 9.298.
indorse (v. tr.) endorse; load the back of PR 3.329.
inelegant (adj.) wanting in aesthetic refinement PL 5.335.
inlay (sb.) fig. inlaid work PL 4.701.
inscribe (v. tr.) mark with writing L 106; PR 4.335.
instead (adv.) without *of*: as a substitute PL 12.54; *et al.*
insult (sb.) act of insulting PR 3.190.
**inter* (v. tr.) enclose corpse of MW 1.
interfuse (v. tr.) pour in PL 7.89.
intimate (adj.) closely personal SA 223.
introduce (v. tr.) usher in PL 3.368.
intuitive (adj.) mind acting by immediate apprehension PL 5.488.
**inwove* (v. tr.) form by weaving PL 3.352.
just (adv.) but now PL 4.863.
**lank* (adj.) drooping C 836.
lapse (sb.) a flowing PL 8.263.
last (adj.) utmost PL 9.1079.
last (adv.) in the end PL 6.797 *et al.*
level (adj.) moving in horizontal plane PL 2.624.
lift (v. tr.) carry in elevated position PR 4.48; 4.545.
lining (sb.) C 222.
**livelong* (adj.) durable WS 8.
**lonely* (adj.) isolated II P 83.
lonely (adj.) desolate NO 181.
lowly (adj.) poor C 323; PL 5.463.
mainly (adv.) principally PL 11.519.
**matin* (sb.) morning call of birds L'A 114.
mature (v. tr.) elaborate PL 1.660.
measure (v. tr.) estimate amount PL 12.554.
measure (v. tr.) attain PR 1.210.
microscope (sb.) fig. meaning PR 4.57.
mintage (sb.) stamp on coin C 529.
mission (sb.) political errand PR 2.114.
moan (sb.) lamentation S 18.8.
murky (adj.) of air: thick, dark PL 10.280.
**mysterious* (adj.) full of awe PL 8.599.
number (v. tr.) include in a list S 11.4.
**oat* (sb.) oat straw pipe L 88.
opposition (sb.) opposite direction PL 2.803.
overhang (v. intr.) jut out above PL 4.547.

10. *Incorporal* had been used earlier.

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- overpower* (v. tr.) overwhelm PL 8.453; SA 880.
palmy (sb.) abounding in palms PL 4.254.
pavilion (v. tr.) furnish a field with a p. PL 11.215.
**pennon* (sb.) wing PL 2.933; 7.441.
penurious (adj.) stingy C 726.
pile (v. tr.) heap up PL 5.394; 5.632; PR 2.341; *et al.*
pine (v. tr.) mourn PL 4.848.
**piteous* (adj.) sad PL 10.1032.
presence (sb.) divine being PL 8.314; 10.144; SA 28.
principedom (sb.) principality (of angels) PL 3.320; 5.601; *et al.*
**principle* (sb.) motive force UC 2.10.
rally (v. tr.) revive by will PL 6.786.
rebuff (sb.) repelling blow PL 2.936.
recall (sb.) possibility of revoke PL 5.885.
**reception* (sb.) capacity for receiving PL 10.807.
recreant (adj.) unfaithful to duty *Divorce*; PR 3.138.
reduce (v. tr.) bring to lower rank *Ch Govt*; PL 5.843.
**redundant* (adj.) wave like (?) PL 9.503.
refine (v. tr.) free from coarseness PL 8.589.
regain (v. tr.) rejoin C 274.
regency (sb.) district controlled by regent PL 5.748.
regorge (v. tr.) SA 1671. See List 1.
reject (v. tr.) throw forth from the mouth PL 10.567.
reject (v. tr.) refuse to accept PL 5.886; PR 2.457; 4.156, *et al.*
reluctant (adj.) unwilling PL 6.58.
**respite* (sb.) time granted before sentence PL 11.272.
revolve (v. tr.) rotate on axis PL 7.381.
ridge (v. tr.) mark or cover with ridges SA 1137.
ringlet (sb.) curl of hair A 47; PL 4.306.
rod (sb.) SA 549. See List 1.
**roseate* (adj.) rose-scented PL 5.646.
rove (v. tr.) ramble about C 60; PL 9.575.
**ruinous* (adj.) pertaining to a fall PL 2.921; 6.216; PR 4.436.
sad (adv.) sadly PL 4.28.¹¹
same (adj.) unchanged PL 1.256; 4.835; 11.633.
**scarce* (adv.) with difficulty PL 7.470; 11.762 *et al.*
scathe (v. tr.) blast, scorch PL 1.613.
scene (sb.) episode in series of events P 22; PL 11.637.
**scowl* (v. tr.) express with a scowl PL 2.491.
seal (v. tr.) imprison PL 4.966.
**sensible* (sb.) sensibility PL 2.278.
serene (adj.) clear PL 3.25.
shape (sb.) mode of existence PL 4.848; 2.448; 11.467.
shower (v. tr.) rain on PL 4.152; 11.883.
showery (adj.) pertaining to a sh. PL 6.759.
shut (sb.) action of shutting PL 9.278.
sidelong (adv.) on one side PL 4.333.

11. The only meaning not marked obsolete.

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- sideways* (adv.) so as to incline to one side MW 42.
skirt (v. tr.) surround with something PL 5.282.
slack (adj.) weak PL 9.892.
sleek (adj.) smooth L 99; PL 9.525; L'A 30.
slumbrous (adj.) soporific PL 4.615.
smutty (adj.) looking like smut PL 4.817.
soar (v. tr.) fly up through air PL 7.421.
social (adj.) friendly PL 8.429.
solve (v. tr.) determine PL 8.55.
**sort* (sb.) rank, class SA 1608.
space (sb.) unlimited extension PL 1.650.
**speakable* (adj.) able to speak PL 9.563.
spin (v. intr.) revolve rapidly PL 8.164.
splendid (adj.) qualifying nouns of opposite meaning PL 2.252.
sport (sb.) plaything of winds or waves PL 2.181; 3.493.
**square* (sb.) position of planets 90° apart PL 10.659.
store (sb.) storehouse Ps. 4.34; PL 7.226; 6.515.
strenuous (adj.) vigorous SA 271.
strict (adj.) severe C 109; PL 2.241; 2.321.
strict (adj.) exact S 2.10; PL 4.562; 4.783; *et al.*
stride (sb.) striding gait PL 2.676; 6.109; SA 1067; 1245.
sublime (adj.) solemn C 785; PL 8.455.
**subserve* (v. intr.) act in subordinate position SA 57.
**succinct* (adj.) not ample PL 8.643.
sultry (adj.) hot L 28; SA 1246.
**superior* (adj.) more eminent PL 4.499; 5.903; 8.532; *et al.*
Supreme (sb.) God PL 8.414; 6.723; 9.125; PR 1.99.
**suspense* (adj.) held back PL 7.99; 2.418; 6.580.
swart (adj.) producing swarthiness L 138.
sweep (v. tr.) pass fingers over musical strings L 17.
swim (v. intr.) PL 2.753. See List 1.
ylvan (adj.) pertaining to woods PL 4.140.
taste (sb.) artistic judgment PR 4.347.
**thoroughfare* (sb.) action of passing through PL 10.393.
Titan (sb.) from Greek mythol. PL 1.510.
toil (v. tr.) accomplish by great effort PL 10.475.
trill (v. tr.) utter PR 4.246. See List 1.
**triumphal* (sb.) token of triumph PR 4.578.
tumultuous (adj.) full of commotion PL 2.936.
tumultuous (adj.) *fig.* referring to thought PL 4.16.
unsparing (adj.) lavish PL 5.344.
twilight (sb.) faint light during eclipse of sun PL 1.597.
unapproved (adj.) not sanctioned PL 5.118.
unaware (adv.) unawares PL 3.547; 9.362.
undrawn (adj.) not dragged PL 6.751.
unearned (adj.) not worked for PL 9.225.
unemployed (adj.) out of work PL 4.617; SA 580.
unessential (adj.) immaterial PL 2.439.
unharboured (adj.) wild C 423.

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- unharmonious* (adj.) not in agreement PL 11:51.
**unmeasured-out* (adj.) PL 5.399.
unmuffle (v. intr.) remove a muffling C 331.
unite (v. intr.) form one material whole PL 12.382.
unsung (adj.) PL 1.442; 7.21, 253; 9.33; PR 1.17.
upper (adj.) of earth's surface PL 1.346; 10.422, 446.
upturn (v. tr.) direct up PL 10.279.
various (adj.) diverse C 22; PL 1.375.
various (adj.) having diversity of forms C 379; PL 6.242; *et al.*
vent (sb.) means of relief PL 12.374.
verdurous (adj.) composed of verdure PL 4.143.
violate (v. tr.) disturb PL 4.883; 10.25.
visible (adj.) in sight PL 1.63; 3.386; 11.321; *et al.*
vocal (adj.) full of sound C 247; PL 5.204; 9.530; L 86.
void (sb.) empty space PL 2.829; 438.
**wakeful* (adj.) rousing from sleep NO 156.
walk (v. tr.) move about on L 173; PL 5.200; 7.503; *et al.*
**war* (sb.) soldiers in fighting array PL 12.214.
**war* (sb.) weapons PL 6.712.
**wheel* (v. intr.) move like a wheel PL 12.183.
whisper (sb.) soft rustling sound L 136.
wind (sb.) current of air PL 9.989; *et al.*
work (v. tr.) guide PL 9.513.
worry (v. tr.) pester SA 906.
wreath (sb.) like a twisted band PL 6.58; 9.517.
wreck (v. intr.) undergo shipwreck PR 2.228.

As might be expected, this list shows Milton active only with substantives, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. Some of the nouns are used in figurative senses, but the majority are extensions of meanings which already existed. The poet also developed several words twice. Besides *barbaric* and *barbarous*, the list reveals *dip*, *displace*, *glare* (sb. and v.), *last* (adj. and adv.), *lonely*, *measure*, *reject*, *strict*, *tumultuous*, *various*, and *war*. Finally, of the total of 302 words, the NED indicates that 66, or about 22 per cent, are not in normal usage today because they are obsolete, poetic, rare, nonce, and so on.

One of the most interesting groups of Milton's neologisms is that involving the use of one part of speech for another. This practice, so important an element in Milton's style, has produced a considerable number of new entries in the NED. Substantives, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs are affected, together with one preposition:

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LIST 3

A. Substantive from adjective:

- **abrupt*; abyss PL 2.409.
centric; circular orbit with earth at center PL 8.83.
empyrean; highest heaven PL 7.73; 2.771; 3.57; 6.833; 7.633.
**essential*; what exists PL 2.97. Plural had been used earlier as (sb.)
**hyaline*; smooth PL 7.619.
**hymenaeon*; hymeneal PL 4.711.
ingrate; PL 3.97; 5.811. See List 1.
obscure; obscurity PL 2.406.
terrene; the earth PL 6.78.

B. Substantive from verb:

- acclaim*; shout of applause PL 11.519; 2.520; 3.397; 10.455; PR 2.235.
chant; a song PR 2.290.
expanses; the firmament PL 2.1014.
expanses; wide extent of anything PL 7.264.

- **gurge*; whirlpool PL 12.41.
mutter; act of muttering C 817.
ramp; a leap SA 139.
roam; act of wandering PL 4.538.

C. Substantive from interjection

- hosanna*; Ch Govt; PL 3.348.

D. Adjective from substantive

- atheist*; PL 6.370. *Atheistic* had appeared in 1634.
disputant; engaged in dispute PR 4.218.

- drear*; dreary NO 193; C 37.
Galilean; L 109; PR 3.233.
handmaid; NO 242.
hedgerow; L'A 58.
lubber; L'A 110.
mildew; C 640.

Philistine; SA 1371; 39, 42, 216, *et al.* *Philistine* dates from 1623, and Milton uses it in PL 9.1061.

- pygmean*; diminutive PL 1.780.
raven; black C 251.
torrent; pouring forth PL 2.581; 6.831; C 930.
twilight; formed at time of twilight A 99.
twilight; dim, obscure NO 188; II P 133; C 844.
wizard; pertaining to wizardry L 55.

E. Adjective from verb.

- **adorn*; ornate PL 8.576.
F. Adverb from adjective.
adverse; PL 10.289. See List 1.
advised; PL 6.674. See List 1.
aery; PL 5.4.
altern; in turns PL 7.348.
audacious; PL 2.931. See List 1.
happy; PL 8.633. See List 1.
**hideous*; PL 6.206.

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- **lax*; to have ample room PL 7.162.
- **opportune*; opportunely PL 9.85.
- opposite*; PL 6.128; 7.376; 4.460; 6.306.
- promiscuous*; PR 3.118.
- safe*; PL 2.411; 3.21, 197; 7.24; 10.316; 11.365. See List 1.
- shadowy*; dimly PL 5.43. See List 1.
- slight*; to a small extent SA 1229.
- spontaneous*; PL 7.204.
- tempestuous*; PL 6.844. See List 1.
- voluptuous*; PL 2.869. See List 1.
- wild*; PL 5.297. See List 1.
- G. Adverb from substantive or preposition.
midst; in the middle place PL 5.165; 2.508.
- H. Verb from substantive
freak; variegate L 144.
- hymn*; worship in song PL 6.96; 4.944. Also *hymning* PL 3.417.
- **limb*; provide self with limbs PL 6.352.
- **peal*; assail ears with noise *Ch Govt*; PL 2.920.
- peal*; resound II P 161.
- pillow*; lay down on a pillow NO 231.
- I. Preposition from adjective or adverb.
**aloof*; *Divorce*; PL 3.577; 1.380.

The words are, of course, more striking for their newness in their context; but it is clear that Milton experimented rather widely in shifting parts of the vocabulary. The total is 60; of them 12, or 20 per cent, are marked obsolete, rare, and the like, although the number probably should be actually higher in consideration of the fact that so many (10—9 of them adverbs from adjectives) were omitted from the NED listing.

But the group of words which are of the most interest are those which Milton introduced for the first time into the language. Here we find actual coinages—some of no great significance, like his making an adverb by adding *-ly* to an already-existing adjective; some as important to the language as *fragrance* or *impassive*. In 1706 Phillips' *New World of Words* included only *disfigurement*, *loquacious*, and *wasseller*.

LIST 4

- **adamantean* (adj.) SA 134. *Adamantine* had appeared in 1382 and is in PL 2. 646.
- Afer* (sb.) WSW wind PL 10.702.
- agape* (adv.) with open mouth PL 5.357.

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- anarch* (sb.) PL 2.988.
arborous (adj.) PL 5.137. *Arboreous* is listed from 1646; *arboreal* from 1667.
archangelic (adj.) PL 11.126. *Archangelical* was introduced in 1652.
auditress (sb.) PL 8.51. *Auditor* comes from 1386.
*azurn (adj.) azure C 893; S 14.11. *Azure* is earlier.
cany (adj.) PL 3.439.
cateress (sb.) C 764. *Caterer* comes from 1469.
*cedarn (adj.) C 990.
cherubic (adj.) PL 5.547; 6.413; 753; 9.68; 11.120; SM 12.
Circean (adj.) *Eikon*; PL 9.522.
congratulant (adj.) PL 10.458.
degenerately (adv.) *Tetrach*; SA 419.
demonian (adj.) PR 2.122.
dimensionless (adj.) PL 11.17.
*disally (v. tr.) SA 1022.
*discontinuous (adj.) producing discontinuity PL 6.329.
*desespouse (v. tr.) PL 9.17.
disfigurement (sb.) act of disfiguring C 74. A second meaning, "Something that disfigures," first appears in *Ch Govt*.
dishonourer (sb.) SA 861.
*displode PL 6.605. *Displosion* first appears in 1656.
effulgence (sb.) PL 3.388; 5.458; 6.680. *Effulge* first appears in 1729, *effulgent* in 1738.
emblaze (v. tr.) light up C 73. A (v.) from heraldry, however, is earlier.
emblazonry (sb.) heraldic device PL 2.513.
embrown (v. tr.) PL 4.246.
ensanguine (d) (v. tr.) PL 11.654.
ethereous (adj.) PL 6.473.
fountainless (adj.) PR 3.264.
fragrance (sb.) PL 9.425; 4.653; 8.266; 3.135; 5.286.
giantship (sb.) SA 1244.
*haemony (sb.) C 638.
hardihood (sb.) C 650. The archaic *hardihead* first appeared in 1579.
horrent (adj.) bristling PL 2.513.
immanacle (v. tr.) C 665.
impassive (adj.) not feeling pain PL 6.455.
inabstinence (sb.) PL 11.476.
infinity (sb.) something that is infinite PL 7.169. NED lists two meanings; Milton also originates the other, "quality of being infinite," in *Reform*.
*informidable (adj.) PL 9.486.
infuriate (adj.) PL 6.486. The (v.) also first appears in 1667.
inhospitably (adv.) PL 12.168.
insupportably (adv.) SA 136.
intervolve (d) (v. tr.) PL 5.623.
inwrought (part. adj.) L'A 105.
irradiance (sb.) PL 8.617.
jubilant (adj.) PL 7.564.
*Libecchio (sb.) SW wind PL 10.706.
loquacious (adj.) PL 10.161.

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- Meliboean* (adj.) PL 11.242.
meteorous (adj.) PL 12.629. *Meteoric* dates from 1631.
ministrant (adj.) PL 10.87; PR 2.385.
mutely (adv.) V Ex 6.
nectarous (adj.) PL 5.306. *Nectarean* first appeared in 1624; *nectarian* in 1611.
oary (adj.) PL 7.440.
obstriction (sb.) SA 312.
obtrusive (adj.) PL 8.504.
omnific (adj.) PL 7.217.
outpour (v. tr.) PR 3.311.
overarch (v. tr.) PL 1.304; 9.1107.
overply (v. tr.) S 22.10.
Pandaemonium (sb.) PL 1.756; 10.424.¹²
persuasively (adv.) PL 9.873.
petrific (adj.) PL 10.294.
Phillis (sb.) pretty table-maid L'A 86.
philosophic (adj.) PR 4.300. *Philosophical* dates from 1500.
Piemontese (adj.) S 18.7. See List 1.
Plutonian (adj.) PL 10.444.
**pontifical* (adj.) bridge-building PL 10.313. The same word, however, had been used earlier in entirely different meanings.
**pontifice* (sb.) bridge PL 10.348. The same word, like *pontifical*, had been used earlier in an entirely different meaning.
precipitance (sb.) PL 7.291.
re-embattle (v. tr.) form battle line again PL 6.794.
sainly (adj.) II P 13; NO 42; PL 4.122; SM 9; PR 3.93; C 453. See List 1.
 NED gives 1660 as first date.
Satanic (adj.) PL 6.392; PR 1.161.
scrannel (adj.) thin, meager L 124.
Seraph (sb.) PL 8.667. The plural, *Seraphim*, however, comes from 900.
Serbonian (adj.) PL 2.593.
sheeny (adj.) DFI 48.
**Sinaean* (adj.) Chinese PL 11.390.
sovran (adj.) C 41; NO 60; P 15; often in PL. NED lists this and the next two words independently; but the form in modern spelling is earlier in each case.
sovran (sb.) PL 2.244; 9.612 and *Tenure Kings*.
sovrainty (sb.) PL 2.446; 12.35.
Tauric (adj.) Crimean PR 4.79. See List 1.
terrific (adj.) terrifying PL 7.497.
Thyestean (adj.) PL 10.688.

12. Possibly suggested by Henry More's *Pan-* coinages in his *Psychozoia*, III, 12, where, like Milton's word, they are connected with a building:
On *Ida* hill there stands a Castle strong,
They that built call it *Pantheothen*.
(Hither resort a rascall rabble throng
Of miscreant wights;) but if that wiser men
May name that Fort, *Pandaemoniothen*
They would it sleep.

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**timelessly* (adv.) unseasonably DFI 2.

Typhoean (adj.) PL 2.539.

upsend (v. tr.) PL 1.541.

upwhirl(ed) (v. tr.) PL 3.493.

villatic (adj.) SA 1695.

wassailer (sb.) C 179.

Besides these, there are 38 words compounded with *un-* for the first time: *unadorned* (adj.) PL 4.305; C 23; *unadventurous* (adj.) PR 3.243; *unaided* (adj.) PL 6.141; *unapproached* (adj.) PL 3.4; *unattending* (adj.) C 272; *unbeheld* (adj.) PL 4.674; *unbesought* (past part.) PL 10.1058; *unblenched* (adj.) C 430; *uncelebrated* (past part.) PL 7.253; *Free Commonw.*; *unconjugal* (adj.) SA 979; *Divorce*; *unconniving* (adj.) PR 1.363; *unculled* (adj.) PL 11.436; *undelighted* (adj.) PL 4.286; *undesirable* (adj.) PL 9.824; *undiscording* (adj.) SM 17; *unenchanted* (adj.) C 395; *unendeared* (adj.) PL 4.766; *unexempt* (adj.) C 685; *unforbid* (adj.) PL 7.94 (*unforbidden* dates from 1535); *unforeknown* (adj.) PL 3.119; *unforeskinned* (adj.) SA 1100; *unfumed* (adj.) PL 5.349; *unfurl* (v. tr.) PL 1.535; *Reform.*; *ungraceful* (adj.) PL 8.218; *unhoard* (v. tr.) PL 4.188; *unimmortal* (adj.) PL 10.611; *unimplored* (adj.) PL 9.22; 3.231; *unlibidinous* (adj.) PL 5.449; *unoriginal* (adj.) PL 10.477; *unpillowed* (adj.) C 355; *unpredict* (v. intr.) PR 3.395; *unprincipled* (adj.) C 367; *unrazored* (adj.) C 290; *unreprieved* (adj.) PL 2.185; *unshowered* (adj.) NO 215; *unsucceeded* (adj.) PL 5.821; *unvoyageable* (adj.) PL 10.366; and *unwithdrawing* (adj.) C 711. Three, it will be noted, are verbs, the rest adjectives—mostly participles. The total for List 3 is 129, or 88 if we exclude the *un-* words and the *sovran* group. Of the 88, 14, or about 16 per cent, are obsolete, archaic, and the like.

III

What conclusions may we draw? First, it appears likely that, subject to the accuracy of the NED, Milton has given us a considerable number of words—either completely new or in de-

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veloped senses from old ones. Most significant are those in Lists 2, 3, and 4; these total 491. Of these, 92, or 18 per cent, are obsolete, archaic, poetic, rare, nonce, or catachrestic. Of the less important additions—slight extension of meaning, participle from existing verb or substantive, and compounds—there are at least 529, with 78, or 15 per cent, obsolete, archaic, and so on. All in all Milton's name appears with at least 1,020 words; 170 of these, or some 16 per cent, are not in standard use today. This seems to be a considerable total for any writer. Perhaps as striking is the fact that about four words out of five have survived despite the fact that only a poetic vocabulary was being checked. This survival undoubtedly is to be explained by Milton's great popularity since the early 18th century. As Raymond D. Havens noted, we find less strangeness in his diction "than the Augustans did, because, owing largely to the reading of Shakespeare, Milton, and Spenser for the past two hundred years, our vocabulary has come to be far richer than theirs and actually nearer to that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."¹³ In reading the NED, too, for Lists 2, 3, and 4, one is struck with the great number of times when the second example is from a pre-romantic or romantic writer. One cannot now say whether the editors deliberately skipped over the names of Dryden, Swift, or Pope and preferred instead those of Thomson, Cowper, or Collins; but the latter are, in proportion to their smaller production, more prominent.

Finally, it is interesting to notice how many ordinary words are first associated with Milton. To point to only a few, one notes from List 2 *bustle*, *intuitive* in a frequent modern sense, or *unemployed* as "out of work" (earlier it had meant "not used"). List 3 reveals a powerful and original use of one part of speech for another; as might be expected, it has a high rate of obsolescence but a surprising number of these coinages have stuck. In List 4, *disally* and *disespouse* suggest Mr. John L. Lewis' recent *disaffiliate*—and are both starred, as his is likely to be. Here too one runs

13. P. 64.

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into such old familiars as *loquacious*, *overarch*, and *saintly*. Nor do the words in general give one the impression of mere anglicizing from Latin, as is true, for instance, in much of Sir Thomas Brown. One can but conclude that Milton has enriched our vocabulary in a variety of ways; without his activity our langauge would be the poorer.

XVII

The Terms of Angelic Rank in *Paradise Lost*

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A QUESTION ABOUT *Paradise Lost* which scholars have answered with a good deal of variety and perhaps too simply is that on the kind and extent of Milton's debt to theological tradition in his use of the terms of angelic rank: Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, and the rest. These are, of course, the terms of the *De Caelesti Hierarchia* of the Pseudo-Dionysius, an author used faithfully by thinkers as different as Thomas Aquinas and Robert Fludd and by poets of all grades: Dante, Vondel, Heywood. Some commentators have said simply that Milton too follows Dionysius.¹ Others, agreeing, add the detail that the much-noted looseness of Milton's usage is itself validated out of Dionysius's treatise.² Professor E. N. S. Thompson has said, on the other hand, that Dionysius did not directly influence Milton at all, but that he took his usage from the Bible, which has his terms and which systematizes them no more than he. "He seems to have been influenced . . . only in a general way by ecclesiastical tradition."³

Recently, however, Mr. B. Rajan, intent on the reading Milton's contemporaries gave *Paradise Lost*, has noted that an ecclesiastical tradition comparatively new when Milton wrote did perhaps influence him directly. Milton's practice with the terms of angelic rank seems to follow an express recommendation of John Calvin

1. A. W. Verity, Appendix F to his 1910 edition of *Paradise Lost*; William Vaughn Moody, *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton* (Boston, 1899), note on *Paradise Lost*, I, 737; Harris Fletcher, *Milton's Rabbinical Readings* (Urbana, 1930), p. 216. Professor Fletcher, though saying that Milton "fully accepted" the "hierarchical arrangement of the angels," notes that he did not use it at all.

2. Rex Clements, "The Angels in 'Paradise Lost,'" *Quarterly Review*, CCLXIV (1935), 291; Clara Starret Gage, "Sources of Milton's Concepts of Angels and the Angelic World," unpub. diss. (Cornell University, 1936), p. 129. Both Mr. Clements and Mrs. Gage make various reservations.

3. *Essays on Milton* (New Haven, 1914), pp. 117, 118.

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that the true believer "forsake the vain imaginations propagated by triflers concerning the nature, orders, and multitude of angels. . . ." "No one can deny," Calvin goes on, "that great subtlety and acuteness is discovered by Dionysius, whoever he was, in many parts of his treatise on the celestial hierarchy; but if any one enters into a critical examination of it, he will find the greatest part of it mere babbling."⁴ Mr. Rajan cites Bucanus, Purchas, and Leigh as of Calvin's opinion and might easily have cited a dozen others. He concludes: "Milton was, therefore, quite justified in refusing to be exact and in using these angelic titles purely for the sake of their poetic evocations."⁵

Mr. Rajan does not develop his contention, but in support of it is the fact that though most Protestant theologians scouted the arrangement which Catholics accepted from Dionysius, they did not deny order among the angels. Protestantism, with its abhorrence of intermediaries between God and man, made a start at rationalistic rejection of Dionysius out of Erasmus's well-grounded assertion that he was not the Areopagite; but then Protestantism came up short against the fact that the terms Dionysius used were indisputably in the Bible and at least some of them apparently as of angelic orders. Protestants tended, therefore, to stand on the belief that the Dionysian system itself was a pious and overly detailed fraud, but that angels clearly had organization of some sort, expressed by the familiar words from St. Paul. Thus Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester says that he follows the Apostle in firmly believing that there are Thrones, Dominations, and the rest, for Scripture uses these titles to show a difference among angels, though what the difference is he has no idea.⁶ The prolific Hertfordshire rector, Andrew Willet, too acknowledges that the diversity of names in the Bible argues divers orders; but the Bible allows no such distinctions as the Romanists assert, and to inquire as they do is foolish curiosity and dangerous rashness.⁷ William Perkins, a famous

4. *Institutes I*, xiv, 4.

5. *Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader* (London, 1947), n., p. 151.

6. *An Exposition of the Catholike Faith*, p. 185, in *The Works* (London, 1637).

7. *Synopsis Papismi* (London, 1614), II, viii, 385.

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Cambridge divine, says virtually the same thing,⁸ and also Milton's enemy, Bishop Hall.⁹ The Cambridge tutor, Joseph Mede, in a *Discourse* on the Seven Angels who are the eyes of the Lord assails "that ancient and high-soaring (though counterfeit) Dionysius" who "described the Hierarchy of angels as exactly as if he had dwelt amongst them."¹⁰ But Mede does not deny orders, nor does Peter Martyr, a theologian whom Milton names respectfully, though he thinks Dionysius too circumstantial and not the Areopagite.¹¹ Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich, after quoting approvingly Augustine's reservations about the orders, adds: "Yet this we cannot deny, that those names (or if you will so call them, orders of angels) are expressed in the holy scriptures; whereupon for our weakness it is meet after a sort to expound them as we may."¹² Henry Ainsworth, the Separatist leader in Amsterdam, admits degrees: "Howbeit, we are warned not to intrude into these things which we have not seene, Colos. 2.18."¹³ Milton himself uses this same text to check his first discussion of angels in the *Christian Doctrine* short of any acknowledgement of the nine orders, though he had said that angels are distinguished from one another by offices and degrees.¹⁴

Apparently, then, Mr. Rajan may be correct to suppose that in using the terms of order but "refusing to be exact" Milton is merely writing in the Protestant opinion of his time. This would seem on the face of it more likely than the theory that here alone in his angelology Milton followed the Catholic line, and it is really an extension of Professor Thompson's view that Milton took his practice from the Bible, for the Calvinist writers all relied very closely on the Bible as opposed to what Perkins sneers at as

8. *An Exposition of the Symbols or Creed of the Apostles*, in *The Workes* (London, 1635), I, 148.

9. *The Invisible World Discovered* I, vii, in *The Workes* (Oxford, 1837), VIII, 366-369.

10. *Discourse X*, in *The Workes* (London, 1677), p. 40.

11. *The Common Places* (London, 1574), I, xiii, 120.

12. "Of Good and Evil Spirits," the Ninth Sermon of the Fourth Decade, in the Parker Society's *Decades of Henry Bullinger* (London, 1851), IV, 336-337.

13. *Annotations upon the First Book of Moses* (London, 1639), on Genesis 16:7.

14. I, vii, 37, in vol. XV of the Columbia edition of Milton. In *The Reason of Church Government* Milton says that the angels are "quaterniond," but that is a polemical turn and probably means little about his belief.

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the "devices" of "the Church of Rome" "which they call traditions of equal authority with the Scriptures."¹⁵

A detailed comparison of Milton and some representative Protestant theologians seems to show, however, that though on the evidence of the *Christian Doctrine* Milton believed much as they did about angelic rank, he went noticeably beyond them in what he says and implies about it in *Paradise Lost*.

Protestant theologians denied that the Bible justified Dionysius's exact number of orders or his three hierarchies or some of the names he used. John Salkeld, a clergyman whose book on angels found favor with King James, says that most theologians are not so bold as to assign precisely nine degrees, like the "counterfeit Dionysius."¹⁶ Jerome Zanchy, the most voluminous and perhaps the most respected of Calvinist angelologists, finds the ascription of three hierarchies a presumptuous detraction from the Bible's simplicity. Further, the terms *Cherubim* and *Seraphim*, he says, are not of orders at all.¹⁷ Bullinger too is sceptical about the three hierarchies¹⁸ as is Babington, who adds like Zanchy that *Seraphim* and *Cherubim* are names that merely show the native agility of any spirit on God's work.¹⁹ John Deacon and John Walker, a pair of Church of England controversialists, likewise are against *Cherubim* and *Seraphim* as terms of rank,²⁰ and Willet thinks that to use these terms of fallen angels is actual blasphemy.²¹

To most of these objections against the treatise of Dionysius, *Paradise Lost* also is more or less open. Milton writes, it is true, in the spirit of the Protestants: he has none of the devotion to the Dionysian scheme that is plain in Thomas Heywood on the hierarchies, nor any outspoken exposition of it such as the partisan

15. *The Second Treatise of the Duties and Dignities of the Ministerie*, in *The Workes* (London, 1635), III, 452.

16. *A Treatise of Angels* (London, 1613), pp. xlvi, 312, 313, 302.

17. *De Operibus Dei* II, xiv, 94, 95, in the *Operum Theologicorum* (Geneva, 1613).

18. *Decades of Henry Bullinger*, IV, ix, 336.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 186.

20. *A Summary Answer to all the Material Points in any of Master Darel, his Books* (London, 1601), ii, 141-44.

21. *Op. cit.*, II, viii, 385.

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Catholic, Vondel, puts in the mouth of his Gabriel.²² And wherever the Bible gave Milton specific precedent he followed it, of course; thus Cherubim drive Adam and Eve from the Garden. But Milton is beyond doubt in the Dionysian tradition (1) in the idea of nine orders in three hierarchies, which he once proclaims specifically: "Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones in their triple degrees" (V, 749-50); (2) in the use of all the Dionysian names; (3) in the placing of Seraphim and Cherubim highest, as when he says that "The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim" sit in hell's council uncontracted while the lesser devils swarm reduced in the outer courts.²³

Beyond this Milton does not demonstrably go with Dionysius. Some scholars have argued that in using the terms of rank very generally (*angel*, for instance, usually in *Paradise Lost* signifies the whole genus) and in naming some individuals under more than one order, Milton was availing himself of Dionysius's explanation that any angel might properly be attributed to any rank lower than his and that all angelic appellations were common insofar as all angels had a fellowship in the likeness of God and in the reception of light.²⁴ But for such fluid usage Milton had nearer and more congenial authority than Dionysius or his followers. No one can show, says Mede, that "some of these names concur not, (as Angels to be a common name to all the rest, especially to comprehend Archangels) . . ." ²⁵ Salkeld and Zanchy, too, agree that the term *angel* is general and that the others overlap in ways we cannot distinguish.²⁶ An Oxford preacher, John Gumbledon, says: "So all are Angels: all are ministering spirits: but, some

22. *Lucifer*, Act I, p. 286 of the translation by Leonard Charles van Noppen (New York, 1898).

23. Mr. P. E. Dustoor has pointed out before me that Milton seems bound to the idea of exactly nine orders, though he nowhere names all together. Mr. Dustoor also thinks that Seraphim and Cherubim are indicated to be the highest orders. See "Legends of Lucifer in Early English and in Milton," *Anglia* LIV (1930) p. 223 ff. I cannot follow Mr. Dustoor in his more detailed findings on angelic rank.

24. *De Caelesti Hierarchia* v, 60, 61 in *Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae Operum Omnia* (Paris, 1644). See also Mr. Clements and Mrs. Gage as cited in note 2.

25. *Discourse X*, p. 40.

26. See their opinions as cited in notes 16 and 17.

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Angels among the rest, have names given them, from some extraordinary imployment . . . That angel that shall be charged to attend principally on that work, shall be called an Archangel . . ." 27 And thus Milton, though once he has Angel and Archangel as distinct (" . . . Angel on Arch-Angel roll'd," VI, 594) yet uses *angel* generally most of the time and *archangel* usually as a term of special mission or high command.

In general, then, the fluid employment of the terms of angelic order probably expresses Milton's sympathy with Protestant theologians, most of whom simply overrode the Dionysian reservations. Andrew Willet, for instance, argues that if we were to accept Dionysius, Michael could not be considered head of all angels, since as that he would have to be a Seraph, whereas Scripture clearly says he is an Archangel.²⁸ Milton calls Michael nothing higher than Archangel, yet makes him head. Salkeld opposes Aquinas' dictum, following Dionysius, that angels of the top three ranks only attend the Throne of God and are never sent to man by pointing to the Seraph who brought the lighted coal for the lips of Isaiah. Dionysius had been explicit that this "Seraph" was not of the superior order, though in a sense properly called by its name;²⁹ but Salkeld says that either Scripture means here a full Seraph or there is no place in it to show what a Seraph may be.³⁰ Certainly Milton's Seraph, Raphael, is unmistakably from before the Throne, with no appeal to Dionysius' rationalization on how an angel could be called a Seraph yet not be one.

In short, though the confusions of rank in *Paradise Lost* are of a type inherent in the Dionysian system and recognized by Dionysius, the particular instances in *Paradise Lost* are not necessarily

27. *Two Sermons, First, An Angel in a Vision appeareth to a Souldier* (London, 1657), p. 9. Gumbledon cites Peter Martyr and Zanchy. Bullinger, Babington, and others also say that the name Archangel goes with a great assignment. Gumbledon notes further that Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, and Powers are names not unfit for angels. He does not mention Virtues, a name which, as Mrs. Gage notices, is not in the English Bible, and he does not give Seraph and Cherub as of orders.

28. *Op. cit.*, II, viii, 387. Willet himself denies that Michael is head, on the ground that by the name *Michael* Scripture means Christ whenever it ascribes command of angels. On this point Milton is, of course, opposed to Willet.

29. *Op. cit.*, xiii, 140 ff.

30. *Op. cit.*, xlvi, 315.

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referable to Dionysius, and sometimes seem deliberately outside his system. Even when Milton is nearest to Dionysius he carefully does not join him. Thus when he names three orders "In their triple degrees," he selects not the commanding orders of each hierarchy (Seraphim, Dominations, Principalities) but a mixture, "Seraphim, and Potentates and Thrones" (V. 749). The meter governs here, of course, and in Milton's more sweeping enumerations it governs—"Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers," or "Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones, and Virtues,"—except that he never lets it produce a plainly Dionysian array.³¹

It would seem, then, that though for literary purposes Milton slightly but definitely exceeded what some influential Protestant exegetes allowed from the Bible, yet he stayed deliberately clear of explicit endorsement of Dionysius's system and of such detailed conformity to it as would have separated him in spirit from Protestant theology and joined him to Catholic. The tradition he appeals to for the sake of its literary values is exceedingly general. He gives nowhere in *Paradise Lost* a hint that he accepts Dionysius in the way that he accepts those ideas on angels which he duplicates in the *Christian Doctrine* (as that good angels stand by their own strength) and certainly he does not offer us Dionysius with the sort of determination he shows in contending that angels can truly eat human food and make love with each other. From the Dionysian system he draws a rich tincture of mystical special knowledge that was at once stimulating to the seventeenth-century reader in its indefiniteness, and steadyng in its familiarity, conveying in an awesome roll of syllables a general suggestion of supernal grandeur, yet reassuring, too, in its equally general suggestion of a heavenly polity not unlike the earthly. Milton achieves this from the tradition without assenting to the doctrine—indeed while intimating his scorn of the particularity of the doctrine.

31. Mr. Dustoor thinks that "Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones" are the ruling orders of the three triads according to Gregory in the *Moralia*. But Gregory has only eight orders in the *Moralia* and Powers is not one of them. Where Milton has Potentates (Powers) Gregory has Principalities or, counting another way, Virtues. See *Morals on the Book of Job* by S. Gregory the Great (Oxford, 1850), XXXII, 549.

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Since the particular ordering of the angels was not a thing upon which Milton felt strongly, his usage in *Paradise Lost* binds him to no party but takes advantage of a sort of merger of meanings, a general allusiveness that does not seriously exceed what the Protestants would accept nor yet fall wholly short of the Catholics. The notable thing about Milton's handling of the terms of angelic rank is not his bluntness, a dismissal of a controversial tradition, nor yet any detailed justification from tradition, but his adroitness in using tradition without unduly recognizing authority in it.

XVIII

The Pathetic Fallacy in *Paradise Lost*

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PATHETIC FALLACY, Ruskin's depreciatory coinage for an ancient metaphoric device, applies to every expression of the illusion, more or less vivid and real, that the inanimate world is sentient: that nature feels emotions as human beings do and on occasions shows sympathy with the emotions of mankind. Used by Ruskin¹ to denote the tendency of poets and writers of impassioned prose to credit nature with human feelings, the term has sometimes been applied less strictly to include any or all kinds of false emotionalism resulting in a too impassioned description of nature. The intuition which is the basis of the pathetic fallacy arises from the natural subjectivity of human beings, exhibited in the common experience of all mankind: the sense that certain familiar objects, such as flowers, trees, ships, rivers, oceans, weapons, seem to have a life of their own, a life which, if objectively impossible, is none the less intensely real.² Pathetic fallacy appears either as an epithet (happy fields, smiling spring, sighing wind) or as a short or extended statement (the ocean grieved). Like other vehicles of imaginative expression, the pathetic fallacy lends itself most congenially to the writer of romantic disposition; yet it is as old as Homer and is used in one form or another by virtually everyone of the Greek poets of the classical age.³

Homer's "brave spear," "foreboding sea," the grain that "joyed in the dew," and the olive trees that failed to hearken as they should to the cries of Persephone—all express the sense of intimacy

1. *Modern Painters*, III, pt. iii, chap. xii.

2. F. O. Copley, "Sophocles and the Pathetic Fallacy," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Art, and Letters* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1936), XXI, 479.

3. *Ibid.*

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between man and the world of nature. Pindar pictures the heavens and the sea as weeping for a human death. The dramatists of the fifth century use the pathetic fallacy in a rich variety of forms. With Sophocles, in whose works it assumes a position of prime importance in the thought, the pathetic fallacy achieves its supreme height of artistic beauty and effectiveness.⁴

With English poets, from the Anglo-Saxons through the Victorians, the pathetic fallacy has been a staple of poetic, reaching its greatest currency in the Romantic Age. "That mountains mourned, that winds sighed, that fields smiled, that trees were in a happy mood, that, in other words, natural objects were given the feelings and powers of human estate, was a prime poetic substance—because it was a prime in philosophical thought and in plain everyday vision; so one may assume from its constant and vigorous use."⁵ Ruskin's all but unqualified reprobation of the device, in its statement and implication, completely reverses a primary tenet of the traditional theory of the poetic image: that an object can have no significance apart from the bestowal of, or explicit relation with, human feeling; that is, an image is truly poetic only in so far as it is modified by a predominant passion bestowed on it by the poet's creative spirit—a view asserted by Aristotle and Coleridge. To whatever extent, if any, affected by Ruskin's derogation, the course of pathetic fallacy in the Victorian Period is one of steady decline. With contemporary poets, the attitude to the pathetic fallacy ranges from mild disapproval to strong dislike. "Our mountains do not frown, our trees do not dance in the wind, our sunbeams do not smile. We struggle to avoid the pathetic fallacy, and prefer the way of Peter Bell to that of his critic."⁶ "We think, contrary to Peter Bell and Wordsworth his critic, both that the yellowness of the primrose by the river's brim is pretty important in itself, and that the flower is important

4. F. O. Copley, "The Pathetic Fallacy in Greek Poetry from Homer to the Close of the Fifth Century," unpubl. diss. (Stanford University, 1935), *passim*.

5. Josephine Miles, *Pathetic Fallacy in the Nineteenth Century*, University of California Publications in English (Berkeley, Calif., 1942), XII, 183.

6. George Boas, *Philosophy and Poetry* (Norton, Mass., 1932), pp. 10-11.

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in itself." ⁷ The New Criticism, with the seemingly new poetic values stressed through its analytical-formalist approach, leaves no place at all for the pathetic fallacy.

A formidable and in part quite rare exhibit of the ascribing of sentience to nature is to be found in the poetry of John Milton. In the following ⁸ and numerous other passages throughout many of his minor poems, one is made to feel poignantly the mutually sympathetic relation—the rapport—between man and nature:

Thee Shepherd, thee the Woods, and desert Caves,
With wild Thyme and the gadding Vine o'ergrown,
And all their echoes mourn.

Where were ye Nymphs when the remorseless deep
Closed o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas?

It was that fatal and perfidious Bark
Built in th' eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,
That sunk so low that sacred head of thine.

In *Paradise Lost*, Raphael's first instruction to Adam is an exposition of the plentitude, order, and unity of all living and non-living creatures in the great chain of being:

. . . One Almighty is, from Whom
All things proceed, and up to Him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all
Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,
As nearer to Him plac'd, or nearer tending,
Each in their several active spheres assign'd:
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalks; from thence the leaves
More airy; last, the bright consummate flower
Spirits odorous breathes; flowers and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd
To vital spirits, aspire, to animal,
To intellectual; give both life and sense,
Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
Reason receives; and reason is her being,
Discursive or intuitive; discourse

7. Miles, p. 184.

8. *Lycidas*.

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Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours;
Diff'reng but in degree, of kinds the same.⁹

Again, Michael to Adam:

Thou know'st Heaven His, and all the earth,
Not this rock only; His omnipresence fills
Land, Sea, and Air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by His virtual powers . . .¹⁰

To Eve's question why the stars shine all night "when sleep hath shut all eyes," Adam explains:

Those . . . with kindly heat
Of various influence foment and warm,
Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
On earth, made hereby apter to receive
Perfection from the Sun's more potent Ray.
These, then, though unbelld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain, nor think, though men were none,
That Heaven would want spectators, God want praise;
Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
All these with ceaseless praise His works behold
Both day and night: How often from the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to other's note,
Singing their great Creator.¹¹

When Satan, in prospect of Eden, calls "with no friendly voice," it is to a God—

. . . at whose sight all the Stars
Hide their diminis't heads . . .¹²

Man, then, being not unique in his spiritual affinity with God, and in his participation in the spirit life, is in no real sense a kind apart from the rest of the creatures, but "a piece of the order of things."¹³ Over the universal order rules Nature, "God's deputy,"¹⁴ whose law is "the stay of the whole world."¹⁵ Thus,

9. Bk. V, 469-490.

10. Bk. XI, 335-338.

11. Bk. IV, 661-688.

12. Bk. IV, 34-35.

13. Ramon Sabunde, *Natural Theology* (c. 1425), trans. Montaigne (1569), ed. A. Armaingaud (1932), ch. 3.

14. Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, I, iii, 4.

15. *Ibid.*, I, iii, 2.

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the preservation of this universal order rests on the perfect obedience of all things to the natural law; for, as Hooker says, the whole world and each part are so compacted that "as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preserveth both other things and also itself."¹⁶ Such a perfect obedience is possible through man's right reason, animal instincts, and the reactions of inanimate things.

Now, so long as the natural law was kept inviolate, the home of our first parents, as Milton pictures it, was the perfect community of creatures, united in bonds of just interdependence and sympathy—a blissful Paradise, where—

Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue
Appear'd with gay enamel'd colours mix'd:
On which the Sun more glad impress'd his beams
Then in fair evening Cloud, or humid Bow,
When God hath show'r'd the earth; so lovely seem'd
That Lantskip: And of pure now purer air
Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmie spoiles.¹⁷

A Paradise where Adam and Eve ate—

Nectarine fruits, which the compliant boughs
Yielded, side-long as they sat recline
On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers.¹⁸

amidst—

Groves whose rich trees wept odorous Gums and Balm,
Others whose fruit, burnish'd with Golden Rind,
Hung amiable.¹⁹

With Eve's trespass, however, comes Nature's inevitable and immediate reaction, expressed in a pathetic fallacy surely one of the most dynamic and magnificent in all poetry:

16. *Ibid.*, I, ix, 1.

17. Bk. IV, 148-159.

18. Bk. IV, 332-334.

19. Bk. IV, 248-250.

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So saying, her rash hand in evil hour,
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat.
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
That all was lost.²⁰

When, in the episode soon following, Adam, "fondly overcome by Female Charm," becomes Eve's consort in crime, the revulsion of Nature is profound:

Earth trembl'd from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
Sky lour'd and muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at the completing of the mortal Sin
Original²¹

Since man's offense involved the whole scale of being, God commands his angels to alter the heavens and the elements in accord with the fallen state of things: The four seasons are inaugurated, bringing pinching cold and scorching heat; all manner of malignant planetary influences are prescribed; blustering winds and rowling thunder are fixed to confound Sea, Air, and Shore; the poles are turned askance from the Sun's axle, and the Sun's course is changed.²²

"Like change on Sea and Land, sideral blast,
Vapour and Mist, and Exhalation hot,
Corrupt and Pestilent.²³

Thus, says Milton, began "outrage from lifeless things." Now, the breach in Nature entered and complete, came disorder infecting the entire scale of created things. By his violation of the law of Nature, God's covenant with the world, man incurred the vengeful hostility of all her parts:

Discord first . . .
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational,
Death introduc'd through fierce antipathie;
Beast now with Beast 'gan war, and Fowl with Fowl,
And Fish with Fish; to graze the herb all leaving,
Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe

20. Bk. IX, 780-784.

21. Bk. IX, 1000-1004.

22. Bk. X, 648-691.

23. Bk. X, 693-695.

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Of man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim,
Glar'd on him passing.²⁴

Adam, meditating his and Eve's now loathsome estate, their lost "Honor, Innocence, Faith, and Purity"—the "inward Paradise"; anguished, and recoiling in anticipation of the "blaze insufferably bright" of God and angel, cries out to the once friendly woods for concealment:

. . . O might I here
In solitude live savage, in some glade
Obscur'd, where highest woods impenetrable
To star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad,
And brown as evening: Cover me ye Pines,
Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
Hide me, where I may never see them more.²⁵

But Eve, with dim though awakening perception of the magnitude of their loss, observes that Nature is no longer friendly:

. . . the field
To labor calls us now with sweat impos'd
Though after sleepless Night; for see the Morn
All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins
Her rosy progress smiling.²⁶

When Adam and Eve are to be dispossessed, the coming of Michael and the band of Cherubim is foretold by "mute signs" in the earth and heavens: the sun is eclipsed; and the hunting instinct is born, as fowl preys on fowl, beast on beast:

. . . Nature first gave Signs, impress'd
On Bird, Beast, Air, Air suddenly eclips'd
After short blush of Morn; nigh in her sight
The Bird of Jove, stoopt from his airy tow'r,
Two Birds of gayest plume before him drove:
Down from a Hill the Beast that reigns in Woods,
First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace,
Goodliest of all the Forest, Hart and Hind.²⁷

These are but a few of the striking instances in *Paradise Lost* of the pathetic fallacy. Is one to view them as the "emotional attribution of false appearances unconnected with any real power

24. Bk. X, 707-714.

25. Bk. IX, 1084-1090.

26. Bk. XI, 171-175.

27. Bk. XI, 182-189.

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or character in the object," the result of the poet's mind being "in some sort too weak to deal fully with what is before it, borne away, or over-clouded, or over-dazzled by emotions"? If so, are they to be contemned merely as such, or, conceding Milton's pathetic fallacies to be successful, shall one defend them on the basis of certain mitigating qualities of his poetic artistry? Or, contrariwise, in view of the poem's rationale, is one to see the pathetic fallacies of *Paradise Lost* as outside the context of Ruskin's criticism? The answer is apparent from the milieu of the poem.

The *mise-en-scène* of *Paradise Lost* is a grand, continuous hierarchy, perfect in its completeness, order, and unity, extending from the meanest particle of inorganic matter up to the Godhead. Throughout, it is of one piece or essence: Matter and spirit are one, the difference between them being only in degree. The ontological principle is that stated by Milton in his *Fourth Treatise*:

Spirit being the more excellent substance, virtually and essentially contains within itself the inferior one, as the spiritual and rational faculty contain the corporal [sic], that is, the sentient and vegetative faculty.

This principle of the essential oneness of things in the scale of being, which nucleates the whole philosophy of the poem, precludes any meaningful differentiation between the animate and inanimate orders of being, the human and non-human. Accordingly, sentience is not an exclusively human quality; for just as both intelligence and reason—

... contain

Within them every lower facultie

Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste²⁸

likewise—

Various living creatures . . .

. . . also know

And reason not contemptibly.²⁹

Clearly, this is a universe more than merely hospitable to the

28. Bk. V, 409-411.

29. Bk. VIII, 370-374.

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pathetic fallacy; it is a universe, so to say, conceived in its very image, where the pathetic fallacy becomes archetypal law. Hence Milton's depicting of the animate and inanimate kinds as sharing through primal sympathy in the emotional life of man is an invention of the greatest propriety—is, in fact, a *sine qua non* as an instrument of organic unity in the imaging of the poem's whole life and meaning. Fusing the powers of sensuous image and informing symbol, it becomes the detonating mechanism through which the central issue of the poem—the Fall, its cause, and total consequences—is given startling and spectacular dramatic realization. Through it the meaning becomes form, and the form meaning. Quite evidently, then, the abominated pathetic fallacy is in *Paradise Lost* the sign of artistic integrity. Moreover, Milton's Classical-Christian epic justifying God's ways to man on the basis of the oneness of all life suggests the true perspective for a rational criticism of the pathetic fallacy.

Since it would seem quite impossible to view the pathetic fallacy as different in any essential property from the metaphor—the act of creative perception being the same—on what grounds could one assent to its absolute exclusion from poetic? Metaphor, if used with decorum, is still the supreme agent of the imagination—that “shaping” and integrating power by which experience, in all its rich complexity, becomes transmuted into truth through the poet's palpitating image. It is, as Middleton Murry says—

. . . as ultimate as speech itself . . . the instinctive and necessary act of the mind exploring reality and ordering experience . . . the analogy by which the human mind explores the universe of quality and charts the non-measurable world. . . . It seems to be an imperious need of the creative spirit of the poet to impart life to the apparently lifeless. This world of imagination is a universe wherein quality leaps to cohere with quality across the abysses of classification that divide and categorize the universe of intellectual apprehension.³⁰

Ruskin might have served poetry better had he limited his attack and applied his pejorative more strictly to only the inept uses of this figure he named the pathetic fallacy—for example, those

30. “Metaphor,” *John Clare and Other Studies* (London, 1950), pp. 85-97.

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which are trite, or over-subtle, or inessential—instead of villifying it in principle. Thus, the tone of his censure might seem less like that of the perennial partisan critic who would restrict the vast dimensions of all poetry to the narrow limits of a single kind. Yet, the question here cannot be met satisfactorily by a test of logic alone; the aesthetic problem is also a psychological, and ultimately a metaphysical one.

The vision of the One Life is as old as the mind of man, and doubtless as permanent. Rising from the hidden source of impulse and intuition, it is the motif of primitive myth and saga, surviving in classical mythology and speculative philosophy, and recently appearing in the conclusions of the analytical psychologists of Vienna and Zurich—notably in the imagery and symbolism of Dr. Jung's Collective Unconscious. It is our inheritance from the ancient world, when natural science was a part of philosophy; when nature was more than the mere source of powers to be exploited for man's economic ends; and when philosophy itself was a whole organism, still wholesomely concerned with fundamentals, and had not yet become the tail to the scientific kite.

Is it wholly rational, or even really scientific, to dismiss as naïve, as antique fable, or outworn superstition this universal experience of mankind in all the ages?—to reject it as not based on a valid psychological principle merely because Pegasus will not be shod with the mathematical-logical clogs of the naturalistic positivists?—merely because the incandescent poetic spirit, dissolving the evanescent shapes that divide knower and known in the *becoming* world of sensuous apprehension, sees into the life of things and loses the sense of separate existence in the ineffable feeling of oneness with the whole of nature?

Would it be fanciful to see Milton's apology for the divine oneness of all life, and the divine oneness of all truth, natural and supernatural, as an implicit argument by illustration, as a criticism, of the question of the pathetic fallacy? Does not the aberrant modern denigration of this classic device of the poet's creative imagination have its parallel and prototype in the angelic apos-

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tasy? Long before Ruskin, was not the Arch-Fiend himself, first exponent of proud, skeptical, usurping egoism, the original derogator of the pathetic fallacy?

If the Woods of Arcady are dead; if the fairies have broken their dance; if the nymphs have departed and the mermaids no longer sing to us, then it is a measure of the extent to which subtle pride has immured twentieth-century man in the heresy of the factual. Denying the mystery and faith of the transcendental vision by which men really live, to adore the easy certainties of the little view of the naturalistic positivists—does not this rank heresy have its inspiration in the Satanic *Weltanschauung*?

XIX

Eve's Awakening

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PERHAPS MORE than any other poet Milton has suffered from misapplied biographical interest and misapplied interest in his ideas. A great deal of the distaste for Milton's poetry in the last seventy-five years has sprung from a dislike of Milton the man—as I heard Professor Douglas Bush ruefully remark a few years ago. And though Milton's ideas are important—*Paradise Lost* is not just a superb organ music throbbing in an intellectual void—still, our concern for his theological and philosophical consistency can push us into ruinous distortions of his poetry.

There is, of course, no patented way to read Milton, indeed, and if there were such a way, I, least of all, would lay any claim to possessing it. But I do think that a consideration of the structure of the poem, of the interplay of part with part, of image with image, and an emphasis upon the way in which ideas are bodied forth and thus qualified as well as defined by the images might furnish a partial corrective to overweening biographical and ideological emphases. I shall lean very hard upon the Milton scholarship of the last twenty years, and I do not promise that I shall write anything that is fresh and new about Milton's ideas as such. The point that I should like to make in this essay is a highly important point: that Milton's great poem shows the thinking through images which must characterize any genuine poem.

For example, the passages with which I am concerned in this paper bear heavily upon the relationship of man to woman, and thus we run at once into a problem that sets the modern reader's teeth on edge. Does Milton really think that man is superior to woman—that a wife should be subject to her husband? So many

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of us are made furious by what we are told was Milton's treatment of his first wife, Mary Powell, and by what we take to be his stiff-necked Puritan opinions, that we are quite unable to read his great poem. We stop reading the poem to quarrel with Milton the defective sociologist. I could wish that Professor W. R. Parker would be able to prove that the sonnet beginning "Me thought I saw my late espoused saint" was actually written to commemorate Mary Powell rather than Katherine Woodcock, his second wife. Perhaps it cannot be proved. And surely truth and rigidly honest scholarship have first place. But if it could be proved convincingly, that proof would do more, I am satisfied, to commend Milton to the modern reader than anything else that I can think of. Be that as it may, Milton is on record in one of his divorce pamphlets to the effect that a woman may have more intelligence than her husband, and that wisdom, not the mere fact of maleness, should govern the family decisions. But whatever may be said in extenuation of Milton's ideas on the subject, in his poetry Milton, as a matter of course, makes use of the traditional concept of woman. And if that in itself be irritating, then we must be prepared to be irritated with such moderns as William Butler Yeats, D. H. Lawrence, and William Faulkner, where, unless I utterly mistake myself, the traditional view of woman is also dominant.

One of the most charming passages in the poem occurs in Book IV when Eve gives her account of her first moments of consciousness and of her first meeting with Adam. It is worth pondering for its own sake, but we shall find it is also a nice example of the careful articulation of Milton's poem.

Eve tells how she waked, and immediately began to wonder, as she says, "where / And what I was, whence thither brought, and how." Eve is no infant for whom the world is a confused blooming buzz. She has been created mature, and moreover she represents unfallen humanity with its keen perceptions and its vigorous and powerful intellect. These she proceeds to apply at once to the situation in which she finds herself. René Descartes could do no better: she says not *Cogito, ergo sum*, but *Admiror, ergo*

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sum—I wonder, therefore I am. She is a conscious being: she immediately speculates on what kind of being, and she infers at once that some power has brought her here from some place and by some means. But she is charmingly feminine withal. She is quickly attracted by the murmur of running water to the banks of a little lake, a lake that mirrors the sky and that seems to be another sky. Peering into it she sees an image with “answering looks / Of sympathie and love”:

I started back,
It started back, but pleased I soon returned,
Pleas'd it returned as soon. . . .

From this Narcissistic indulgence, Eve is called away by the voice of God. He is invisible but by addressing her as “Fair creature,” He takes cognizance of her love of beauty, and by telling her that what she sees is an image of herself, he takes account of her bewilderment and her need for companionship. He promises her

I will bring thee where no shadow staines
Thy coming, and thy soft imbraces, hee
Whose image thou art, him thou shall enjoy
Inseparablie thine. . . .

Adam has been made in God’s image; Eve has been made of Adam’s substance, and as the invisible Voice here tells her, she has been made in Adam’s image as well, and she is to bear to him, “Multitudes like thy self”—that is, beings made in his image and hers.

Milton’s scheme of hierarchy is thus set forth concretely and succinctly. The sense in which Man is made in God’s image—and the sense in which Eve is made in Adam’s image—will come in for more attention in Book VIII: it is that quality which distinguishes man from the brute creation, the possession of reason, already exemplified in Eve’s first conscious response to the world in which she finds herself. More of that anon.

For the moment I want to point out that Milton has also in this brief passage touched on what will be Eve’s difficulty and what will constitute later the devil’s prime means for tempting

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her. She is sensitive to beauty, and she finds it easier to love the image of herself as mirrored in the forest pool than the image of herself as mirrored less obviously in Adam. For when she is led into Adam's presence, as she confesses to him later,

Yet [thee] methought less faire,
Less winning soft, less amiably milde,
Then that smooth watry image. . .

and so she retreats from him. Later at the climax of the poem, Adam too will have to choose between images: his image mirrored in Eve and God whose image he himself mirrors. He will choose the more obviously enchanting image, that reflected in Eve. The act will be a kind of Narcissism, a kind of self-love. It will cut him off from the primal source of life and power, and throw him back upon himself, though of course he is not capable of sustaining himself.

I must apologize for being drawn away from our chosen passage again and again to follow up implications. But the passage is rich, and this very process of deserting it to point its ties with other sections of the book may become a virtue if it shows us how tightly Milton has articulated his great poem.

But to recur to the narrative. For Eve it is not a matter of love at first sight; but for Adam, it is, and his plea to Eve constitutes one of the most moving passages in the poem;

Return fair Eve,
Whom fli'st thou? whom thou fli'st, of him thou art,
His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
Out of my side to thee, neerest my heart
Substantial Life, to have thee by my side
Henceforth an individual solace dear;
Part of my Soul I seek thee, and thee claim
My other half. . .

Adam, who seems to the modern reader so often priggish and pedantic, will not seem so here. It is a love speech, and it moves Eve. She speedily comes to see Adam as more amiable than "that smooth watry image"—sees, as she later puts it,

How beauty is excell'd by manly grace
And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.

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Milton's doctrine that wisdom is superior to sensuous beauty is present here, but for once Milton almost gets by with his presentation of it. By dramatizing the doctrine, and by putting it—not into Adam's mouth but into the mouth of Eve—Milton renders the doctrine inoffensive to any but the most belligerent modern reader.

The psychology of Eve is sound and convincing. To the student of Freud it may seem even preternaturally so; for Milton has made Eve recapitulate the whole process of the child's growing up and transferring the affections to the other sex. According to Freud, the child must transcend the mother image with which it has first associated warmth, nourishment, and affection, and center its affections elsewhere. In the case of the female child the task is more difficult, for it must transcend an image of its *own* sex. But neatly as the symbolism fits into the Freudian system, it is not part of my purpose to place any stress on this.

What I want to emphasize is the power of the passage as an integral part of the poem. We need not fear that we are overreading it. Milton has been careful to give not only the first conscious thoughts of Eve, but also the first conscious thoughts of Adam, of Lucifer, and of Sin and Death. He has built to, and away from, our passage most cunningly. For instance, Sin is born from Lucifer as Eve is born of Adam. Like Athena, Sin bursts full armed from Lucifer's head. But with Lucifer it is not love at first sight. *He* recoils from her, and only later she comes to please him—only later that he finds himself as Sin says, "full oft / Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing...." But the Narcissism of Lucifer soon leads to incest, and of this union Death is born.

Milton then doubles the theme once more; for Sin tells that when she had borne Death, she fled from him, but that Death immediately pursued her and raped her, begetting the horde of yelling monsters that now surround her and feed upon her. These passages prepare for, and insist upon, a parallelism between Eve's relation to Adam and Sin's to Lucifer. If we still have any doubt of this, listen to Sin's speech to Lucifer:

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Thou art my Father, thou my Author, thou
My being gav'st me; whom should I obey
But thee, whom follow?

And compare it with Eve's speech to Adam in Book IV:

My author and Disposer, what thou bidst
Unargu'd I obey. . . .

So much for the relation of the female characters to the male. But I want to return to the larger theme—in this case, to Adam's first thoughts as a conscious being. Like Eve, Adam first contemplates the sky, but not the sky reflected in a pool. He looks up "Strait toward Heav'n," he says. Next he observes the created world, and infers at once that the creation including himself as creature implies a creator. He addresses the "Fair Creatures," which he sees about him, entreating them to

Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,
From whom I have that thus I move and live,
And feel that I am happier than I know.

But the creation—though its very presence testifies to a great Maker—is dumb; it cannot name Him, and it is necessary that the Divine Being himself appear to tell Adam that He is the Author of "all this thou seest" and to offer him life in the Garden with the sole prohibition of the fruit of one tree. Adam then gives names to the fish, birds, and beasts, over whom he has been given dominion. But whereas Eve soon discovers her own image and longs for union with it, Adam from the first looks about to find his own image and cannot find it. He does not find it in the beasts about him and he asks of his Maker

In solitude
What happiness, who can enjoy alone,
Or all enjoying, what contentment find?

In the colloquy that follows between Adam and God, Milton has been daring enough to imply in God a sense of humor—the merest trace of good-humored teasing. I think that Milton's maneuver is successful, or almost so. But that is not my point here: I call attention to the fact because most of us are so convinced

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that Milton is unbendingly solemn, that we ourselves become rigidly solemn readers—to the detriment of the poem.

To summarize the argument briefly: God asks why Adam, in view of the plentitude of the creatures, should worry about solitude. And He forestalls Adam's easiest reply by pointing out that reason is not the sole and absolute prerogative of man, for God is made to say that the beasts have "Thir language and their wayes, they also know / And reason not contemptiblly." To this Adam replies by urging the fact that there can be no true fellowship among unequals: and it is fellowship that he seeks, fellowship "fit to participate / All rational delight." I would emphasize the word *delight* quite as much as the word *rational*. Adam's point is evidently that reason as a mere instrument of the will—for example, reason as exemplified in the white rat that has learned to run a maze for food or in the ape that has been taught to put one box on another to reach a banana—reason as pure means is not enough. There must be the ability to share in rational pleasures.

This view of reason is out of fashion in our times. Milton reborn today might easily come to feel that our ideal was to produce highly skilled technicians who should relax from their technical labors by amusing themselves with the trash of Hollywood and television. But the meaning of "rational delight" is crucial if we are to understand this poem.

When God, still apparently refusing to concede Adam's point, calls attention to His own solitude, Adam correctly puts the distinction between God and His creatures: God is perfect; man is not; man's only recourse to remedy his defect is to "beget / Like of his like, his Image multiplied." Man, that is to say, can solace himself only in a human community. With "his Image multiplied" we are back to our word *Image* once more. Man needs to see himself in the creation and he cannot find himself mirrored in the creation of fish, birds, and beasts.

This is the answer that God is waiting for. And he picks up this term *image* in his next speech to Adam, congratulating him on "Expressing well the spirit within thee free, / My image not

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imparted to the Brute." His questions to Adam have been but a test. He has known all along that it was "not good for Man to be alone," and he promises to create forthwith

Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self.

It is now time to turn to Lucifer's account of what he felt at his creation. The relevant passage is that in which Lucifer is replying to Abdiel's charge that Lucifer is the creature of God, made by God, and now rebelling against his Maker. Lucifer haughtily replies as follows:

That we were formd then saist thou. . .
. strange point and new!
Doctrin which we would know thence learnt: who saw
When this creation was? rememberst thou
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
We know no time we were not as now;
Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
Had circl'd his full Orbe, the birth mature
Of this our native Heav'n, Ethereal Sons.
Our puissance is our own. . . .

Now Satan is very clever here, and I am not sure that C. S. Lewis's admirable commentary quite does him full justice. Lucifer, like a good scientist, demands evidence of the senses: "We know no time we were not as now." Of course not; one cannot as a conscious being have experience of a period in which he was not a conscious being. (How quickly Eve can master this devil's logic we shall see in Book IX.) Lucifer rejects all hypotheses of creation. The mirror is here demanding equality with the source of light which it reflects: that is, the mirror is saying: "I am no mere reflector of light; I am a source of light."

It is true that Lucifer, in his debate with Abdiel, does not use the word *image* nor does he make use of the light-mirror configuration. But that basic symbolism runs through the poem. One remembers that Lucifer in Book I is compared to the sun, the wintry sun peering through the mists, or a sun in dim eclipse, shedding disastrous twilight. And one remembers his address to the sun in Book IV in which he expresses his hatred of its beams.

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And one remembers most of all the great parable of just hierarchy as represented in the starry heavens:

Of light by farr the greater part God took,
In the Suns Orb, made porous to receive
And drink the liquid Light, firme to retaine
Her gather'd beams, great Palace now of Light,
Hither as to thir Fountain other Starrs
Repairing, in thir gold'n Urns draw Light,
And hence the Morning Planet guilds his horns. . . .

Even those stars which have a modicum of their own light, "Thir small peculiar," draw upon the great fountain of the sun, "by tincture or reflection." The Morning Planet is of course the morning star, Lucifer, and Milton could count upon his reader's—though not apparently upon modern editors—remembering Isaiah, 14:12-13: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground. . . . And thou saidst in thy heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. . . ."

Lucifer has been unwilling to augment his own light—*his* “small peculiar” by reflecting light from the great source of light. He has set himself up as a source. He puts himself in competition with God. Small wonder that the fervent angel Abdiel addresses Lucifer as one “alienate from God, . . . Spirit accurst . . .”

This is the sin into which Adam and Eve are to fall: that of alienation from God. The mirror will turn away from the light in the vanity of thinking itself as light-giving. God's image will no longer be reflected in it because it has tilted itself away from God. When in Book XI, Adam wonders that God will allow Man made in His image to become deformed with plague and pestilence, the angel Michael answers him by saying

Thir Makers Image . . . then
Forsook them, when themselves they villified. . . .

The motivation for this act of secession will be pride—both in Lucifer and in Adam and Eve. God will be regarded no longer as father but as tyrant; not as loving overlord but as rival; and

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man, seceding from God, will attempt to set himself up as a god. When Eve tastes the forbidden fruit, the poet grimly comments "nor was God-head from her thought."

Now in summarizing thus, I am of course saying little that is new. The general point is a familiar one, though not an unchallenged one. My justification in proceeding through the account once more is to indicate how carefully Milton has worked it out in certain dominant images and how he has implied the nature of the fall in his account of the creation of Adam and Eve. Eve must not forget what she was once able to infer so clearly: that she is a creature and therefore cannot assume the prerogatives of the Creator; and Eve must not become obsessed with her own lovely image; the superficial reflection of herself in a lower element. As for Adam, he must not become obsessed with that lovely image either—to the point of preferring that image to the image of God.

But I mean to go beyond this summary to some speculations about the kind of knowledge to which Adam and Eve attain by eating the fruit. Here there is no widespread agreement among Milton authorities. Conjectures range from the acquisition of scientific knowledge to no knowledge at all. I have already written on this topic recently, and perhaps my best expedient here is to cite a portion of that paper as published in *PMLA*.

"What knowledge, then, does the Forbidden Fruit confer? I think that an earlier section of Eve's speech can set us on the right track. She has exclaimed:

For good unknown, sure is not had, or had
And yet unknown, is as not had at all.

This seems plausible to her, and since we are fallen men, it probably seems plausible to us. How can you have something that you don't know you have? Or if you have it, how does an ignorant possession of it do you any good? For most of us this is not devil's logic; it is just logic. If Milton is to maintain the opposite—and I think that he does—then he will have to present his case through extra-logical devices including paradox.

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"The Forbidden Fruit gives Adam knowledge of good and evil as *we* know them. But it gives him such knowledge only at the price of extirpating another kind of knowledge. Milton maintains that the other kind of knowledge was possible—though none of his readers, being mortal men, could have experienced it. God is made to say that Adam would have been happier 'to have known / Good by itself.' That state is properly mythical. Has Milton been able to intimate it—to suggest to us what it was like? We must expect to see him play upon the various senses of the word *know*—not as an idle rhetorical gesture but in order to re-fashion from our various dictionary uses a sense of *know* which will be relevant to the myth that he is presenting.

"The good that Adam possesses, he does not 'know' he possesses. He will know that he had it only after he has lost it. Adam states this in so many words after the Fall:

we know
Both Good and Evil, Good lost, and Evil got,
Bad Fruit of Knowledge, if this be to know...
(IX. 1071-73)

But this state of affairs has been implicit in all the earlier action. Earlier, Adam could say: '[I] feel that I am happier than I know.' One cannot substitute for this: '[I] know that I am happier than I know.' Grammatically this is literal nonsense; theologically it is also nonsense. One can only say: '[I] know that I *was* happier than I *knew*.' Earlier the angels have sung:

thrice happie if they know
Thir happiness...
(VII. 631-32)

Later God pronounces:

Happier, had it suffic'd Man to have known
Good by it self, and Evil not at all.
(XI. 88-89)

Milton, speaking as chorus in Book IV, and with all the stops of verbal wit pulled out, stresses the paradox:

Blest pair; and O yet happiest if ye seek
No happier state, and know to know no more.
(774-75)

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"The unfallen Adam is really very much like the child described in Wordsworth's Immortality Ode: Wordsworth might indeed be describing Adam in the epithets he bestows upon the child: 'Nature's Priest,' 'best Philosopher, Seer blest,' 'Thou, over whom thy Immortality / Broods like the Day, a Master o'er a Slave.' Yet the Child cannot impart his philosophy and does not 'know' that he possesses it. If he is an 'Eye among the blind,' he is also 'deaf and silent.' One cannot even acquaint him with the knowledge that he possesses without destroying his knowledge by making self-conscious and abstract what is concrete and joyful and unself-conscious. The poet was himself once such a child, and having lost the child's knowledge, knows at last what it was that he once possessed. But he cannot 'know' it *and* possess it. I am tempted to complete the parallel by saying that Wordsworth at the end of the Ode speaks very much like the fallen but repentant Adam at the end of *Paradise Lost*: both have attained a wisdom out of suffering and 'the faith that looks through death.'

"One is tempted to go still further and say that for Adam and Eve, their immortality does indeed brood over them like 'A Master o'er a slave'; that Eve responding to Lucifer's words, throws off her immortality because she is persuaded that she is enslaved; that her assertion of individuality and separateness challenges the complete harmony in which she moves, and finds in death its necessary consequence."¹

In the paper from which I have just been quoting, I was concerned primarily with the use of the word *fruit* in *Paradise Lost*, and with the necessity for making use of myth—a necessity which the very nature of his problem had enjoined upon Milton. But I should like to go on to connect this account with the whole matter of God's image as reflected in Adam and Eve. As I have remarked in commenting on the child of Wordsworth's poem: one cannot even "acquaint him with the knowledge that he possesses without destroying his knowledge by making self-conscious and abstract what is concrete and joyful and unself-conscious."

1. *PMLA*, LXVI (1951), 1051-53.

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It is this kind of self-consciousness that constitutes the knowledge that Adam and Eve gain from eating the forbidden fruit.

Dorothy Sayers remarks that St. Augustine suggests that the Fall is a lapse into self-consciousness, and though I am not certain that I have located in Augustine the passage or passages to which she refers, it is very true that there are passages in his *City of God* that do point toward self-consciousness as the knowledge conferred by the act of plucking and eating the fatal apple. For example, in Book XIV, Ch. XIV, St. Augustine writes:

This then is the mischief: man liking himself as if he were his own light turned away from the true light, which if had pleased himself with, he might have been like . . . it is good that the proud should fall into some broad and disgraceful sin, thereby to take a dislike of themselves, who fell by liking themselves too much. . . . Therefore says the Psalmist: "Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek Thy name, O Lord": that is, that they may delight in Thee and seek Thy name, who before delighted in themselves, and sought their own.

For anyone who knows how heavily Milton draws on this fourteenth book of *The City of God* and how closely he follows St. Augustine even in the nuances of interpretation of the Garden story, Augustine's emphasis on the human pair's preoccupation with self suggests that such will be Milton's emphasis. But the evidence is in *Paradise Lost* itself.

The theme of self-consciousness comes out clearly in Satan's opening words to Eve in the great temptation scene. He begins by flattering Eve, for to succeed he must draw her attention back to the image of herself which she first saw in the forest pool. He calls her "Fairest resemblance of thy Maker faire, . . ." She it is who most beautifully represents God's image. All things in the universe that are fair and good are united in her "Divine/Semblance." By calling her "Sovran of Creatures, universal Dame," he literally declares her Miss Universe of the year 1. I shall not go through the Serpent's argument in detail. It is brilliantly plausible. Suffice it to say that it ends as it begins; in an appeal to Eve, to Eve's own pride in herself—a pride that will blot out any sense of inferiority to God and hence of any obligation to him.

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Adam's decision to taste the forbidden fruit seems very differently motivated. He knows at once that Eve is lost and says so at once. But he means to die with her:

som cursed fraud
Of Enemie hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
And mee with thee hath ruind, for with thee
Certain my resolution is to Die.

Milton furnishes Adam with the noblest motivation to sin, and properly so. The poem gains thereby. But Adam's sin is ultimately of the same kind as Eve's: the first words that he addresses to her tell the story:

O fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all Gods Works

he calls her in his agony. And if the words are primarily a testimony to his genuine love for her, and so have their pathos, they also imply the choice that he is to state a few lines later. For him, the Creation is summed up in her, not in the Creator. It is a hard choice, but there is no hesitancy in his mind if he is to be forced to choose. Adam's choice, to be sure, seems to be a detached and unselfish choice, but only apparently so. It is a choice between his community and the divine community—between his little empire and the whole realm of God.

Thus far I have, I am sure, seemed to stress not the human pair's self-consciousness—as we usually employ that word—but their consciousness of self. But the consciousness of self with its pride is nearly related to self-consciousness with its sense of shame, and if the motivation to sin springs from too much regard for self, with the Fall comes self-consciousness in the senses that associate it with shame, with isolation and alienation, and with the loss of the innocent rapport with the world about one. This is the only knowledge that the act of eating the apple brings the human pair.

The fact comes out nowhere more plainly than in their changed relation in the sex act. The life of the senses had existed before the Fall, and Milton is as fervent as D. H. Lawrence in emphasiz-

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ing the purity and holiness of their sexual desires and just as emphatic as Lawrence in recognizing the physical implications. But the sex act now after their rebellion against God's order has a different focus. Adam begins to regard Eve with the eye of a sensual connoisseur; he makes comparisons between the emotion aroused in him now as compared with that on other occasions; he has never known "true relish" until now that he has tasted the fruit and he anticipates a special relish now in the act of love. Adam and Eve are each preparing to use the other for his own enjoyment. They are "knowing" and self-conscious about the sexual relations in a way in which they have not been before this.

It is usual to take this passage as a symbolization of the conquest of reason by passion—of the conquest of the lower faculties over the higher faculties. And surely this is a proper and important interpretation. Milton himself has underlined it. But the over-emphasis on the sensual aspect of the relation which now occurs puts an end to the old harmonious relationship in which body, mind, and spirit all had due part. The sleep into which Adam and Eve fall is restless and full of troubled dreams, and when they wake, their eyes, as Adam complains, are opened; but opened only to see that they have been deceived. The Serpent has cheated them with his promises

since our eyes

Op'nd we find indeed, and find we know
Both Good and Evil, Good lost and Evil got,
Bad Fruit of Knowledge, if this be to know.

Adam's reproaches to Eve bring on a bitter wrangling between the human pair. The breakup in the universal community implies a further breakup in the human community itself. Adam cannot maintain his loyalty to Eve stated so generously when he elected to die with her. And Eve, reproached by Adam, retorts by making a stinging defense of herself as self.

Love was not in thir looks, either to God
Or to each other

The Cavalier poet Lovelace has dealt with the essence of the situation in his little poem "To Lucasta, on Going to the Wars":

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"I could not love thee dear so much, / Loved I not honor more." Adam cannot love Eve as much as he ought unless he loves God more: unless he loves God more, ultimately he cannot love Eve at all. Doubtless Milton had read the Lovelace poem, though I am not arguing that he remembers it here. But Milton would have understood the Cavalier poet's paradox, and he was prepared to take it seriously.

There remains one curious further passage to deal with in which man's likeness to God—the sense in which he reflects God's image—is the matter at issue. It is the speech which God makes to the angels in Book XI:

O Sons, like one of us Man is become
To know both Good and Evil, since his taste
Of that defended Fruit; but let him boast
Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known
Good by it self, and Evil not at all.

The temptation has been to say that Milton here is bound to his source in *Genesis* and makes the best of an embarrassing business by turning *Genesis* 3:22 into a sneer upon God's part. But I think that we can do more with it than this. Man is like God in that he has been made in the image of God. God has said so earlier in congratulating Adam upon "Expressing well the spirit within thee free / My image not imparted to the brute." The brutes cannot sin, for their actions are not free—they are instinctive. The great gift imparted to man lies in Adam's capacity to choose—and this implies the capacity to choose wrongly as well as the capacity to obey God's behests not instinctively but freely and consciously.

Yet if the "knowledge" that Adam gains is only self-consciousness, how can Milton have God say that Adam has now become like "us" in coming to know both good and evil? Is God, then, self-conscious and not innocent? I am prepared to answer yes, that God is self-conscious, but that self-consciousness as applied to God does not carry the implications that self-consciousness must carry for a limited being. As perfect omniscience—as creator and not creature—as a limitless being endlessly contemplating his

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own virtues, God is self-conscious indeed. The whole Western tradition from Aristotle onward is behind Milton here; Milton could assume acquaintance with this tradition and assume it not merely for his fit audience though few. And in *Paradise Lost* itself God is constantly referring to the Son as "My image" and contemplating himself as perfectly reflected in this "radiant image of his Glory." But Adam is not prepared to assume this burden of consciousness. God as creator has, in the fall of angels, experienced loss and rebellion and has not been lessened thereby. He is capable of dealing with rebellion and even of bringing good out of that rebellion. But Adam cannot assume the obligations and responsibilities that go with the Creator's self-knowledge. He is a part, not the whole; a creature, not the Creator. If he ventures to know evil, not as a possibility but as an experience, the process is irreversible—irreversible that is in so far as his own efforts avail him. The arm that has cut itself loose from the body cannot rejoin it at will: indeed Adam knows Good lost, and Evil got. Happier indeed it would have been for Adam to know good alone—that is, happier would it have been for him to have remained loyal subject and happy child of God rather than to have tried to set up as a god for himself.

Of course had Adam persisted in his innocence he would have invited the same satiric jeer that Satan darts at the loyal angel Gabriel: "To thee no reason; Who knowest only good, / But evil has not tried." And this will almost certainly be a modern reader's attitude toward the unfallen Adam; for the modern reader believes in experience as the only guide, and innocence for him connotes callowness and immaturity. He forgets that Milton's Garden state is not static and not ultimate; that Milton has provided for Adam's growth in grace and knowledge, until at last Adam's body shall turn "all to spirit." (See Book V, l. 497.) Moreover for many readers the issue has been further complicated by the fact that Milton has stressed so powerfully God's plan for making of Adam's very sin the ground and occasion for Christ's redemption of man. But we leap to conclusions if we assume that

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because the divine plan foresaw Adam's fall and was prepared to turn it to account, Adam's sin was not really sin but "good" after all. Too many modern critics of Milton have erred in just this fashion. They have argued that Milton as a renaissance humanist couldn't really have believed that Adam could have been happy to continue in paradise, that Adam's moral development required his sowing his wild oats, and that Milton was really on Lucifer's side unconsciously if not consciously. The real remedy for these misconceptions is to read the poem itself. A careful reading is rewarding. It reveals that Milton is not absent-mindedly repeating theological ideas in which he had really ceased to believe. Quite the contrary. Milton's insight into the perennial problem of man is profound. It is our modern inability to deal with myth that is at fault. If it is, Milton can aid us. For his great poem is not only an enlightened critique of the mythical method. It is a brilliant example of that method.

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